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THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

"And tears and toil have been my lot,
Since I the white man's thrall became;
And sorer griefs I wish forgot—
Harsh blows and burning shame!"
FRIENDS.

VOL. III, FOR 1837.

NEW-YORK:

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R. G. WILLIAMS, PUBLISHING AGENT.

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THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

Vol. III. No. I.

JANUARY, 1837.

WHOLE No. 25

TWENTY-FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND AMERICANS
ARE NOW HELD AS SLAVES IN THESE UNITED STATES.

We design to fill this number of the Record with testimony as to their *actual physical condition*.—The testimony of *eye-witnesses*, mostly *slaveholders*, now or formerly, and with very few exceptions, persons who had nothing to gain, but every thing to lose by *over-statements*. Personal safety, reputation, the feelings of friends, pecuniary interests, all worldly prospects, present or previous committal, sectional preferences, with other inducements, combine to restrain them from all *high-coloring* in drawing the picture.

Surely, those who testify against themselves will not be deemed false witnesses, and common sense and candor will credit their testimony.

As a sort of preliminary to the testimony, we introduce an article from the New York Commercial Advertiser, of April 25, 1827. We do this because the remarks are *to the point*, and show that *once* even Colonel Stone spoke out like a man about the horrors of American Slavery, and the duty of protesting against them. We advertise our readers that the *italicising* throughout the following testimony is in many instances our own. But to the remarks of Colonel Stone. Hear!

“Shall we talk of the mitigation of the miseries of the Africans, when their masters have an uncontrolled dominion over their persons—while they can *beat, maim, and even kill, without any law to restrain?* I say without any law; for while slaveholders are judges, and the slaves are not admitted witnesses, the redress of the law is a *mockery*.

“We are told of the restraints of public opinion; was public opinion alone ever sufficient to restrain the passions of man, when invested with power—and above all, a community of men?

“The editor of the Post has conversed with people from slaveholding countries, and they inform him, that the slaves are comfortable at this time;—and shall we go to the oppressor to learn the measure of pain he inflicts? Was there ever a negro-driver who would acknowledge

that he was unreasonably cruel? The butcher feeds his victim to the last, and appears unconscious of cruelty—his feelings are callous; and the humanity of a slaveholding community becomes *almost universally blunted*. They cease to see, hear, or feel for an African as a human being. And how are we to know the innumerable tortures that are inflicted? Is there any impartial tribunal before whom the slave can appear, and make known his sufferings? Can he by means of the press lay them before the world? He is as untaught as the beast—he cannot write down his sufferings; and if he could, the whites control the press. Would they publish their own disgrace? *Who that can, dare vindicate the negro's rights?* Ministers of the Gospel, who have espoused their cause from the pulpit, have been proscribed—they have been prohibited from even reading particular parts of Scripture.

"But we are told, that they have days of merriment and festivity; that they whistle, sing, and dance; and is this proof that their condition is happy, because their chains are temporarily loosened, and because they then attempt to sing away their sorrows—because there is as it were, a momentary intermission of that almost perpetual dejection and heart-pining which these wretched beings endure in their degraded and sunken condition? Away with such apologies. Go with the negro-driver, that monster whose similitude except in his form, is that of a fiend, and learn what it is to be a slave. And what apology can be given for insulting this professed Christian republican community with high wrought pictures of the enjoyments of the slaves?"

TESTIMONY, ETC.

We will first present the testimony of two distinguished Southern ladies, now in this city, sisters of the late lamented Thomas S. Grimké, of Charleston, South Carolina. They are natives of South Carolina, and are both well known to the public by their writings.

TESTIMONY OF MISS ANGELINA E. GRIMKÉ.

As one who was born and educated in a slave state, I feel it to be my solemn duty to do every thing in my power to undeceive the North as to the *false representations* of slavery at the South. I believe it to be a sacred obligation due to the colored man, to say, that from my earliest infancy I have wept over the wrongs and the sufferings, the abuse and contumely endured by the helpless and down-trodden slave. I have *never seen* any account of cruelty in Anti-Slavery publications, which, from my long and intimate knowledge of this heart-breaking, soul-crushing system of oppression, *appeared at all incredible to me*. Its hardening and blinding influence is as deleterious and demoralizing in its effects on the character of the master, as it is degrading to the victim of his power. No one who has not lived in a slaveholding state as an *integral* part of the community, can form any idea of the wreck of morals and of temper which slavery produces. It is truly awful. The religion of the South is not the religion of a meek and merciful Redeemer; it is the religion of pride and selfishness, oppression, cruelty, and wrong.

ANGELINA E. GRIMKÉ.

TESTIMONY OF MISS SARAH M. GRIMKÉ.

No powers of language, I believe, can adequately portray the *horrors* of American slavery; a system which embraces and sanctions every species of iniquity, and grants the protection of the law, and the gospel, to *cruelty and oppression*—a system which works evil, and nothing but evil, unceasingly and unsparingly, to both master and slave, brutalizing the one, and cherishing in the bosom of the other, the malignant passions of pride, revenge, and anger.

If there is one scheme for the destruction of men's souls, and the torturing of men's minds, for the *breaking of men's hearts and the tormenting of men's bodies*, which exceeds all others in its appalling iniquity, that scheme is American slavery. The adversary of our fallen race expended here his most refined ingenuity, his most diabolical skill. *Cruelty is inseparable from slavery*; the one cannot exist in a community without the other; and I believe many of the plantations at the South may be said, without hyperbole, to be saturated with the sweat and the blood of the toil-worn slave. In its mildest forms, wherever it has been my lot to witness it, it has invariably been marked by *oppression*, and it is impossible it should be otherwise, because there is a continual effort on the part of the masters to reduce to a *thing*, an immortal and intelligent being, and an unwearied exertion on the part of the slave to maintain his manhood; and while he is continually galled by a sense of his condition, his nature rises from under the pressure, and this keeps alive in his master's bosom a desire to add *infliction to infliction*.

SARAH M. GRIMKÉ.

TESTIMONY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD OF KENTUCKY,

A large majority of whom are or have been slaveholders.

"This system licenses and produces *great cruelty*.

"Mangling, imprisonment, starvation, every species of torture, may be inflicted upon him, (the slave,) and he has no redress.

"There are now in our whole land two millions of human beings, exposed, defenceless, to every insult, and every injury short of maiming or death, which their fellow-men may choose to inflict. *They suffer all that can be inflicted by wanton caprice, by grasping avarice, by brutal lust, by malignant spite, and by insane anger.* Their happiness is the sport of every whim, and the prey of every passion that may, occasionally, or habitually, infest the master's bosom. If we could calculate the amount of wo endured by ill-treated slaves, it would overwhelm every compassionate heart—it would move even the obdurate to sympathy. There is also a vast sum of suffering inflicted upon the slave by humane masters, as a punishment for that idleness and misconduct which slavery naturally produces. * * *

"*Brutal stripes* and all the varied kinds of personal indignities, are not the only species of cruelty which slavery licenses. * * * Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us. The shrieks and the agony often witnessed on such occasions, proclaim with a trumpet tongue

the iniquity and cruelty of our system. * * * *There is not a neighborhood where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or road that does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts, whose chains and mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts hold dear.*"—*See Address of Synod to Churches, in 1835, page 12.*

TESTIMONY OF THE HON. WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK,
Of South Carolina—A slaveholder.

In an Essay on the management of slaves, read before the Agricultural Society of St. Johns, S. C., and published by the Society, Charleston, 1834, Mr. S. remarks,

"I consider imprisonment in the stocks at night, with or without hard labor in the day, as a powerful auxiliary in the cause of good government. To the correctness of this opinion many can bear testimony. EXPERIENCE has convinced me that there is no punishment to which the slave looks with more horror."

TESTIMONY OF DR. JAMES C. FINLEY,

Son of Dr. Finley, the founder of the Colonization Society, and brother of R. S. Finley, agent of the American Colonization Society.

Dr. J. C. Finley was formerly one of the editors of the Western Medical Journal, at Cincinnati, and is well known in the West as utterly hostile to immediate abolition.

"In almost the last conversation I had with you before I left Cincinnati, I promised to give you some account of some scenes of atrocious cruelty towards slaves, which I witnessed while I lived at the South. I almost regret having made the promise, for not only are they so atrocious that you will with difficulty believe them, but, I also fear that they will have the effect of driving you into that abolitionism, upon the borders of which you have been so long hesitating. Nothing surprises me so much as the apathy of the American people upon the subject of slavery. Perhaps it ought not to surprise me. The people of the North are ignorant of the horrors of slavery—of its paralyzing influence upon the conscience of the master, and of the atrocities which it commits upon the unprotected slave. * * *

"I do not know that any thing could be gained by particularizing the scenes of horrible barbarity, and still more shocking licentiousness, which fell under my observation during my short residence in one of the wealthiest, most intelligent, and most moral parts of Georgia. Their number and atrocity are such that I am confident they would gain credit with none but abolitionists. Every thing will be conveyed in the remark, that in a state of society calculated to foster the worst passions of our nature, the slave derives no protection either from law or public opinion, and that ALL the cruelties which the Russians are reported to have acted towards the Poles, after their late subjugation, are scenes of every day occurrence in the southern states. This statement, incredible as it may seem, falls short, very far short of the truth."

The foregoing is extracted from a letter written by Dr. Finley to Rev. Asa Mahan, his former pastor, then of Cincinnati, now President of Oberlin Seminary.

TESTIMONY OF THE GRADUAL EMANCIPATION SOCIETY,
Of North Carolina—signed by Moses Swain, President, and William Swain, Secretary.

"In the eastern part of the state the slaves considerably outnumber the free population. Their situation is there wretched beyond description. Impoverished by the mismanagement which we have already attempted to describe, the master, unable to support his own grandeur and maintain his slaves, puts the unfortunate wretches upon short allowances, scarcely sufficient for their sustenance, so that a great part of them go half naked and half starved much of the time. Generally, throughout the state, the African is an *abused, a monstrously outraged creature*."—See *Minutes of the American Convention convened in Baltimore, Oct. 25, 1826.*

From the "MARYLAND JOURNAL AND BALTIMORE ADVERTISER,"
of May 30, 1788.

"It frequently happens on large estates, that they (the slaves) are not clothed till the winter hath nearly expired; and then, the *most valuable only* are attended to; the *young*, and the *labor-worn* having no other allowance in this respect, than the tattered garments thrown off by the more fortunate. *A single peck of corn a week, or the like measure of rice*, is the ordinary quantity of provision for a *hard-working* slave; to which a small quantity of meat is occasionally, though *rarely*, added."

TESTIMONY OF REV. THOMAS CLAY,
Of Georgia—A slaveholder.

"From various causes this [the slave's allowance of food] is often not adequate to the support of a laboring man. The quantity allowed by custom is *a peck of corn per week*. If it be sound flint corn, this is sufficient to sustain health and strength under moderate labor; but there is *often* a defect here; the quantity is then insufficient.

"The present economy of the slave system is to *get all you can* from the slave, and give in return as little as will *barely support him* in a working condition. Even where there is not a direct intention to abridge his comforts they are but little consulted." In regard to clothing he says:

"Winter clothes should be given in November; this is often neglected, and consequently the improvident (of whom the number is very great) *suffer much*.

"Encouragement does not enter much into the discipline of plantations, as at present conducted. *To be let alone*, when the master's task is done, is the only condition offered as an inducement to the industry necessary to accomplish it, or to secure an exemption from the *punishment* due for the neglect of it."—*Clay's Address before the Presidency of Georgia, 1834.*

TESTIMONY OF MRS. LUCRETIA J. TARRANT.

(Of South Carolina—A slaveholder.)

Speaking of the treatment of slaves, Mrs. T. says: "All the pregnant women even, in the plantation, and weak and sickly negroes are capable of doing labor, and there is no exception."

"The sustenance of the slaves consists, from March until August, of corn ground with grates or meal, made into what is called hominy, or baked into corn bread. The other six months, they are fed upon the coarsest practice. Meat when given, is only by way of indulgence or favor."—See "Refutation of the Calumnies circulated against the Southern and Western States," by a South Carolinian. Charleston, 1832.

TESTIMONY OF PHILEMON BLISS, ESQ.

(Of Plym, Ohio, who resided in Florida during the year 1835.)

"The negroes commence labor by daylight in the morning, and excepting the ploughboys, who must feed and rest their horses, do not leave the field till dark in the evening. They carry with them cornmeal wet with water, and at noon build a fire on the ground, and bake it in the ashes. After having finished their field labors, they are occupied till nine or ten o'clock in doing chores, such as grinding corn, (as all the corn in the vicinity is ground by hand,) chopping wood, taking care of horses, mules, &c. and a thousand things necessary to be done on a large plantation. If any extra job is to be done, it must not hinder the "niggers" from their work, but must be done in the night. After the labors of the day are over, they take their second meal of ash-cake. Some planters allow them meat."

TESTIMONY OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS, THE YOUNGER,

In a sermon preached in New Haven about half a century ago, when thousands of slaves were held in Connecticut.

"By these masters they are supplied with barely enough to keep them from starving, as the whole expense laid out on a slave for food, clothing, and medicine, is commonly computed on an average at thirty shillings sterling annually. At the same time they are kept at hard labor from five o'clock in the morning till nine at night, excepting time to eat twice during the day. And they are constantly under the watchful eye of overseers and negro drivers, more tyrannical and cruel than even the masters themselves. From these drivers, for every imagined, as well as real neglect or want of exertion, they receive the lash, the smack of which is all day long in the ears of those who are on the plantation or in the vicinity; and it is used with such dexterity and severity, as not only to lacerate the skin, but to tear out small portions of the flesh at almost every stroke.

"This is the general treatment of the slaves. But many individuals suffer still more severely. Many, many are knocked down; some have their eyes beaten out; some have an arm or leg broken, or chopped off; and many, for a very small, or for no crime at all, have been beaten to death, merely to gratify the fury of an enraged master or overseer."

TESTIMONY OF REV. JOHN RANKIN,

A native of Tennessee, educated there, and for a number of years a preacher in slave States—now pastor of a Church in Ripley, Ohio.

"In some parts of Alabama, you may see slaves in the cotton fields without so much as even a *single rag* upon them, shivering before the chilling blasts of mid-winter. Indeed, in every slaveholding state *many slaves suffer extremely*, both while they labor and while they sleep, *for want of clothing* to keep them warm. Often they are driven through frost and snow without either stocking or shoe, until the path they tread is dyed with the blood that issues from their frost-worn limbs! And when they return to their miserable huts at night, they find not there the means of comfortable rest; but *on the cold ground they must lie without covering, and shiver while they slumber.*

"In connexion with their extreme sufferings, occasioned by want of clothing, I shall notice those which arise from the want of food. As the making of grain is the main object of their mancipation, masters will sacrifice as little as possible in giving them food. *It often happens that what will barely keep them alive, is all that a cruel avarice will allow them.* Hence, in some instances, their allowance has been reduced to a *single pint of corn each*, during the day and night. And some have no better allowance than a small portion of cotton seed!! And in some places the best allowance is a peck of corn each during the week, while perhaps they are not permitted to taste meat so much as once in the course of seven years, except what little they may be able to steal! *Thousands of them are pressed with the gnawings of cruel hunger during their whole lives.*

"Many poor slaves are stripped naked, stretched and tied across barrels, or large bags, *and tortured with the lash during hours, and even whole days, until their flesh is mangled to the very bones.* Others are stripped and hung up by the arms, their feet are tied together, and the end of a heavy piece of timber is put between their legs in order to stretch their bodies, and so prepare them for the torturing lash—and in this situation they are often whipped until their bodies are covered *with blood and mangled flesh*, and in order to add the greatest keenness to their sufferings, their wounds are washed with *liquid salt!* And some of the miserable creatures are permitted to hang in that position until they actually *expire*; some die under the lash, others linger about for a time, and at length die of their wounds, and many survive, and endure again similar torture. These bloody scenes are *constantly exhibiting in every slaveholding country—thousands of whips are every day stained in African blood!* Even the poor females are not permitted to escape these shocking cruelties."—*Rankin's Letters, pages 57, 58.*

These letters were published ten years ago.—They were addressed to a brother in Virginia, who was a slaveholder.—Ed.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ASA A. STONE,

A Theological Student, who resided near Natchez, Mississippi, when he published the following statement, dated May 24, 1835.

"No one here thinks that the slaves are seldom over-driven and under-fed. Every body knows it to be one of the most common occur-

rences. No planter of intelligence and candor denies that slaves are very generally badly treated in this country. *I wish to be understood now at the commencement, that, intending as I do that my statements shall be relied on, and knowing that, should you think fit to publish this communication, they will come to this country, where their correctness may be tested by comparison with real life, I make them with the utmost care and precaution.* But those which I do make, are made without the least apprehension of their being controverted. In the first place, with respect to labor. The time of labor is first to be noticed. It is a general rule on all regular plantations, that the slaves rise in season in the morning *to be in the field as soon as it is light enough for them to see to work*, and remain there until it is *so dark that they cannot see*. This is the case at all seasons of the year; so that during the summer, they are in the field at least *fifteen hours*. This does not include the time spent in going and returning; that must be done while it is too dark to suffer them to work, even if the field, as is frequently the case, is a mile distant. It is literally true, what one of them remarked to me the other day, that "they never know what it is to sleep till daylight." Their suppers they have to prepare and eat after they return home, which, at this season of the year, takes them until nine o'clock: so that, without leaving a *moment* of time for any other purpose, they can have but seven hours sleep before four in the morning, when they are called. On almost every plantation, the hands suffer more or less from hunger at some seasons of almost every year. On the majority of plantations, the feeding supplies the demands of nature tolerably well, except in the winter, and at some other occasional times. There is always a *good deal of suffering* on them from hunger in the course of the year. On many plantations, and particularly in Louisiana and among the French planters, the slaves are in a condition of *almost utter famishment* during a great portion of the year. Let a man pass through the plantations where they *fare the best*, and see fifty or sixty hands, men and women, sitting down on the furrows where their food-cart happens to overtake them, and making their meal of a bit of corn-bread and water, and he will think it is rather hard fare. This is not unfrequently the case on plantations where they are considered well fed. . . .

"I will now say a few words about treatment and condition in general. That flogging is very common and severe appears from what has already been said. I must now say that floggings for all offences, including deficiencies in work, are *frightfully common*, and *most terribly severe*.

"*Rubbing with salt and red pepper is very common after a severe whipping.* The object, they say, is primarily to *make it smart*; but add, that it is the best thing that can be done to prevent mortification, and make the *gashes heal*."

TESTIMONY OF REV. GEORGE BOURNE,

Editor of the Protestant Vindicator.—*Mr. B. was for many years Pastor of a Church in Virginia.*

"They (the slaves) are deprived of *needful sustenance*, are supplied with little and *very insufficient raiment*, and possess no suitable con-

veniences for refreshing rest. They are unmercifully, and in general, undeservedly chastised. * * * Slavery is the climax of cruelty. * * * What are the pungent feelings and exacerbations of the slave in every part of his existence? Doomed to toil with unceasing relaxation, pinched by hunger, bereft of raiment, denied requisite accommodations at night, and, for the most trifling inadvertencies, scourged by a cruel and mercenary task-master until his stripes incapacitate him from active duties."—*Bourne's Picture of Slavery*, page 34.

TESTIMONY OF REV. JAMES A. THOME,

A native of Kentucky—Son of Arthur Thome, Esq., till recently a Slaveholder.

"Slavery is the parent of more suffering than has flowed from any one source since the date of its existence? Such sufferings too! *Sufferings inconceivable and innumerable—unmingled wretchedness from the ties of nature rudely broken and destroyed, the acutest bodily tortures, groans, tears and blood—lying for ever in weariness and painfulness, in watchings, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness.*

"Brethren of the North be not deceived. *These sufferings still exist, and despite the efforts of their cruel authors to hush them down, and confine them, within the precincts of their own plantations, they will, ever and anon, struggle up and reach the ear of humanity.*"—*Mr. Thome's Speech at New York, May, 1834.*

TESTIMONY OF GEN. EATON,

In a letter to his wife, dated Tunis, April 6, 1799—Extracted from his Life.

"Many of them [Christian slaves] have died of grief, and the others linger out a life less tolerable than death. Alas, remorse seizes my whole soul when I reflect that this is indeed but a copy of the very barbarity which my eyes have seen in my own native country. . . . Indeed truth and justice demand from me the confession that the Christian slaves among the barbarians of Africa are treated with more humanity than the African slaves among the professing Christians of civilized America."

TESTIMONY OF THE "MARYLAND JOURNAL AND BALTIMORE ADVERTISER," of May 30, 1788.

"In the ordinary course of the business of the country, the punishment of relations frequently happens on the same farm, and in view of each other: the father often sees his beloved son—the son his venerable sire—the mother her much loved daughter—the daughter her affectionate parent—the husband sees the wife of his bosom, and she the husband of her affection, *cruelly bound up* without delicacy or mercy, and without daring to interpose in each other's behalf, and punished with all the *extremity of incensed rage, and all the rigor of unrelenting severity.* Let us reverse the case, and suppose it ours: ALL IS SILENT HORROR!"

In another part of the same article, the author exclaims: "The injustice of our conduct, and barbarity of our neglect, when reflection is

allowed to predominate, becomes so glaringly conspicuous, as even to excite, against ourselves, the strongest emotions of detestation and abhorrence."

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOHN RANDOLPH.

Of Roanoke—A slaveholder.

In one of his Congressional speeches, Mr. R. says: "Avarice alone can drive, as it does drive, this *infernal* traffic, and the wretched victims of it, like so many post-horses *whipped to death* in a mail coach. Ambition has its cover-sluts in the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war; but where are the trophies of avarice? *The hand-cuff, the manacle, the blood-stained cowhide!* What man is worse received in society for being a *hard-master*? Who denies the hand of a sister or daughter to such *monsters*?"

TESTIMONY OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

"We have heard of slavery as it exists in Asia, and Africa, and Turkey—we have heard of the feudal slavery under which the peasantry of Europe have groaned from the days of Alaric until now, but excepting only the horrible system of the West India Islands, we have never heard of slavery in any country, ancient or modern, Pagan, Mahomedan, or Christian! *so terrible in its character*, as the slavery which exists in these United States."—*7th Report Amer. Col. Soc.* 1824.

TESTIMONY OF CAPT. JAMES RILEY.

"My free and proud spirited countrymen still hold a million and a half of human beings in the most cruel bonds of slavery; who are kept at hard labor, and smarting under the lash of inhuman, mercenary drivers; in many instances, enduring the miseries of *hunger, thirst, imprisonment, cold, nakedness, and even tortures*. . . . I myself have witnessed such scenes in different parts of my own country; and the bare recollection of them now *chills my blood with horror*."—See "*Riley's Narrative*."

From NILES' BALTIMORE REGISTER for 1829, Vol. 35, p. 4.

"Dealing in slaves has become a *large business*. Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with *iron thumb-screws and gags*, and ornamented with *cowskins, and other whips—often times bloody*."

From JUDGE STROUD'S "Sketch of the laws relating to Slavery."

"I find in the case of 'the State vs. M'Gee,' 1 Bay's Reports, 164, it is said incidentally by Messrs. Pinckney and Ford, counsel for the state (of S. C.), 'that the *frequency* of the offence (*wilful murder* of a slave) was owing to the *nature of the punishment*, &c. . . . This remark was made in 1791, when the above trial took place. It was made in a public place—a court-house—and by men of great personal respectability. There can be, therefore, no question as to its *truth*, and as little of its *notoriety*."

Extract of a letter dated July 2d, 1834, from Mr. NATHAN COLE, of St. Louis, Missouri, to Arthur Tappan, Esq., of this city.

"I am not an advocate of the immediate and unconditional eman

cipation of the slaves of our country, yet no man has ever yet depicted the wretchedness of the situation of the slaves in colors too dark for the truth. . . . I know that many good people are not aware of the treatment to which slaves are usually subjected, nor have they any just idea of the extent of the evil."

TESTIMONY OF REV. WILLIAM ALLAN,

Of Alabama, son of a slaveholder—Rev. Dr. Allan, of Huntsville.

In the debate at Lane Seminary three years since, Mr. Allan said, "At our house it is so common to hear their (the slave's) screams, that we think nothing of it:" and then, after relating several instances of horrible cruelty, he added, "And lest any one should think that in general the slaves are well treated, and these (the particular cases) are the exceptions, let me be distinctly understood:—*cruelty is the rule and kindness the exception.*" This was assented to and corroborated by all the students from the slaveholding states; and of these there were eight natives of five or six different states, and ten others who had lived in slave states.

TESTIMONY OF REV. DAVID RICE,

Of Kentucky.—Extracts from his Speech in the Convention that framed the Constitution of that State in 1790.

"He [the slave] is a rational creature, reduced by the power of legislation to the state of a brute, and thereby deprived of every privilege of humanity. . . . The brute may steal or rob, to supply his hunger; but the slave, though in the most starving condition, dare not do either, on penalty of death, or some severe punishment. . . . Is there any need of arguments to prove, that it is in a high degree unjust and cruel to reduce one human creature to such an abject, *wretched state* as this? . . . When we plead for slavery, we plead for the disgrace and *ruin* of our own nature. . . . Should a master command his slave to steal or rob, and he should presume to disobey, he is liable to suffer every *extremity of punishment*, short of death or amputation, from the hand of his master. . . . The master may, and often does, *inflict upon him all the severity of punishment the human body is capable of bearing.* . . .

"When we duly consider all these things, it must appear unjust to the last degree, to force a fellow creature, who has never forfeited his freedom, into this wretched situation; and confine him and his posterity in this *bottomless gulf of wretchedness* for ever.

"Where is the sympathy, the tender feelings of humanity? Where is the heart, that does not melt at this scene of woe? or that is not fired with indignation to see such injustice and *cruelty* countenanced by civilized nations, and supported by the sanctions of law? They [the laws] confine him in *misery*; they will not suffer him to fly from it; the greatest favors they afford him chiefly serve to perpetuate *his wretchedness.*"

TESTIMONY OF COLONEL WILLIAM KEYS,

A native of Rockbridge county, Virginia, where he resided about thirty years,—now well known and greatly respected in southern Ohio.

"In that part of Virginia where I resided (the valley), so far as

relates to food, clothing, and labor, slaves may be said to be well used, when compared with the *barbarity* of their treatment further south, or wherever they are held in large numbers: yet, even where I lived, though few slaves comparatively were held, many acts of *atrocious cruelty* were perpetrated. I have seen *aged, gray-headed slaves, stripped, tied up, and whipped with a cowhide*, forty or fifty lashes, for no fault but absence for a few minutes too long when wanted. Such things I call *cruelty*, but they pass among slaveholders for *nothing*."

Dated Hillsborough, Ohio, January 1st, 1835.

TESTIMONY OF THE MARYVILLE (TENNESSEE) INTELLIGENCER,
of Oct. 4, 1835.

The Editor, in speaking of the sufferings of the slaves which are taken by the internal trade to the South West says:

"Place yourself in imagination, for a moment, in their condition. With *heavy galling chains*, riveted upon your person; *half-naked, half-starved*; your back *lacerated* with the 'Knotted Whip;' travelling to a region where your *condition through time will be second only to the wretched creatures in Hell*.

"This depiction is not visionary. Would to God that it was."

TESTIMONY OF THE HON. WILLIAM PINCKNEY OF MARYLAND.

In a speech before the Maryland House of Delegates in 1789, Mr. P. calls slavery in that state: "a speaking picture of *abominable oppression*;" and adds: "It will not do thus to . . . act like *unrelenting tyrants*, perpetually sermonizing it with liberty for our text, and actual *oppression* for our commentary. Is she [Maryland] not . . . the foster mother of *petty despots*,—the patron of *wanton oppression*?"

TESTIMONY OF A CLERGYMAN,

A resident of the South more than twenty years.

"I am greatly surprised that I should in any form have been the apologist of a system so full of deadly poison to all holiness and benevolence as slavery, the concocted essence of fraud, selfishness, and cold hearted tyranny, and the fruitful parent of unnumbered evils, both to the oppressor and the oppressed, THE ONE THOUSANDTH PART OF WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN BROUGHT TO LIGHT.

"Do you ask why this change,* after residing in a slave country, for twenty years? You remember the lines of Pope, beginning:

'Vice is a monster, of so frightful mien
As to be hated, needs but to be seen,
But seen too oft familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

I had become so familiar with the loathsome features of slavery, that they *ceased to offend*—Besides, I had become a *Southern man* in all my feelings, and it is a part of our *creed* to defend slavery."

* Only one year before, he had stoutly defended slavery, and exclaimed against the statements of abolitionists.—Ed.

(See cover, second page.)

THE
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COLONIZATION.

THE object of the following pages is to lead the reader to a calm and thorough review of the subject of colonization. Perhaps he thinks it sufficiently discussed already; but where the interests of millions are at stake, it becomes us carefully to examine, and often to re-examine, the foundations of our opinions,—the friends of Truth will never be afraid to do this.

“Let us first look at colonization in general—the idea, doctrine, theory, that it would be better for both the whites and blacks of our country, were the latter to be transplanted into a separate community.—Why better? Is there not room enough here for both? Yes. Is there not work enough for both? Yes. Is not colonization *from* our country reversing the order of nature? Yes. The demand for labor among us is *drawing in* laborers, by right or by wrong, from all parts of the old world. Strong, then, must be the reasons to justify us in *sending out* our own native laborers to the old world or elsewhere. If we have any surplus population, it must be of merchants, lawyers, physicians, divines—and surely not of what is called the laboring class, to which all, or nearly all, the colored people belong—of this class there cannot be a surplus for a hundred years to come. The influx of foreign laborers into our country shows, as clearly as running water shows downhill, that ours is the country of all the world, where labor gets, or is supposed to get, the best reward,—and that laboring people are better off here than elsewhere. Why send any away? Some profess to find a reason in the prejudice and oppression of which the blacks are the victims. It is because the colored man must here be always enslaved, or in a condition but little better than slavery. Because he must be an outcast from our free institutions, from our national sympathies, from our social relations. Because here he must be taught at elections,—in schools and colleges,—in stages and streets

boats,—in the house of man, and in the house of God,—that he belongs to an inferior race,—that he cannot, must not, shall not, rise to the level of the whites.—We implore the reader to stop and think. Is there any *must*—any necessity—in any of these things?

When was human prejudice embalmed, eternized, and stamoeed with immutability? The prejudices of one man can be changed; the prejudices of thousands, on this very subject, have been—what shall hinder the change of millions? When was the overthrow of this prejudice by truth and reason fairly attempted, and where is the failure recorded? The invincibility of prejudice should have been clearly ascertained, and evinced by incontrovertible proofs, before it was proposed to expatriate millions on account of it. It ought to have been perceived by the founders of the colonization enterprise, that their remedy was one of last resort, desperate in its nature—one which could not be carried into effect without great danger of enhancing the disease. Indeed, it would seem to be hardly possible to propose the removal of a certain class beyond the reach of a prejudice, without increasing, by this very act, the prejudice which is thus deferred to and humored. Yet we find the American Colonization Society have actually *taken this point for granted*. In their Fifteenth Annual Report, the Managers say, “Causes *beyond the control of the human will* must prevent their ever rising to equality with the whites.”—“The Managers consider it clear, that causes exist, and are operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent, as a class, in this country, which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, BUT OF ANY HUMAN POWER. Christianity cannot do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity; BUT AN ORDINATION OF PROVIDENCE, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature. Yet, were it otherwise,—did no cause exist but prejudice, to prevent the elevation, in this country, of our free colored population, still, were this prejudice so strong (which is indeed the fact) as to forbid the hope of any great favorable change in their condition, what folly for them to reject blessings in another land, because it is prejudice that debars them from such blessings in this! But in truth no legislation, no humanity, no benevolence, can make them insensible to their past condition, can unfetter their minds, can relieve them from the disadvantages resulting from inferior means and attainments, can abridge the right of freemen to regulate their social intercourse and

"relations, which will leave them for ever a separate and depressed class in the community; in fine, nothing can in any way do much here to raise them from their miseries to respectability, honor, and usefulness." We think all will agree that the Colonization Managers here *assume* the invincibility of prejudice. They present no proof, nor do we find elsewhere any attempt to present proof. The very fact that *such* men have *assumed* a position so vitally important to their cause, shows that they did not find it susceptible of proof—and yet it is very far from being self-evident. We appeal to stubborn facts to show that it is altogether false. Thousands of our fellow-citizens have been cured of this prejudice, and are sincerely wishing that their colored brethren should dwell in the land on equal terms with themselves. And on the other hand, there are not a few colored men who *have risen*, in spite of all opposition—call it "ordination of Providence," or what you will—in all substantial enjoyments, in mind and morals, in things outward and inward, *above the average level of the whites*. How often have we heard it said of such and such a man (whose name it would be invidious to mention), "*he would be a governor in Liberia*." Hence we conclude that prejudice is no good reason for colonizing, because prejudice is *vincible*, and ought to be conquered.

Some find a reason for colonizing, in the *hope* that the opportunity of putting their slaves where they can fully enjoy their liberty, without disturbing the whites, will induce slaveholders to emancipate. This must be a very poor reason, for shrewd slaveholders have advocated colonization precisely because they hoped thereby to get rid of the disturbing force of the free blacks, and hold their slaves in greater security. It will be easy to quote many examples of this, but one will abundantly suffice, and it is given at some length because it furnishes much matter for reflection. It is from the speech of the Hon. Mr. Archer of Virginia, before the American Colonization Society in 1830, and is published with the Society's Fifteenth Annual Report.

"Mr. Archer said he was not one of those (however desirable it might be and was, in abstract speculation) who looked to the complete removal of slavery from among us. If that "consummation devoutly to be wished," were to be considered feasible at all, it was at a period too remote to warrant the expenditure of any resources of contemplation or contribution now. But a great benefit, short of this, was within reach, and made part of the scope of operation, of the plan of the Society. The progress of slavery was subjected to the action of a law, of the utmost regularity of action. Where this progress was neither stayed, nor modified by causes of collateral operation, it *hastened*, with a frightful rapidity, disproportioned, entirely, to

the ordinary law of the advancement of population, to its catastrophe which was repletion. If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate and production, inevitably and speedily redundant, first to the occasions of profitable employment, and as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners, fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners in this country), it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided? and if they could how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual fortunately. It was to provide and keep open a DRAIN for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment. This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand."

We are clearly taught by this passage how colonization may act for the security of slavery—how it may come in as a partner of the internal slave-trade, just to form a necessary *safety-valve* for the great system of oppression. The neighborhood of free blacks is dreaded by slaveholders, far more than the excess of slaves. This is abundantly asserted by Mr. Archer in the same speech. He says that "*a necessary and obvious policy restrained the intermixture of the several castes in occupation.*" Can any thing, then, be plainer than that slaveholders might if they would, avail themselves of colonization to promote their own purpose—the perpetuation of slavery? But, if we carry the reader with us in our next point, which is indeed the main one, it will be of little consequence whether he believes that colonization will strengthen slavery or remove it. An honest man will abjure a bad means, however good the end.

The fundamental question on this subject is, *whether a scheme of colonization can, with any motives and in any manner, be prosecuted without enhancing, both in the colonists and the colored people who remain, that sense of wrong which our oppression has implanted within them.* A good man would hardly think it right to confer what he considered a benefit, if the beneficiary must necessarily consider it an injury. Suppose the blacks colonized into an earthly paradise, still

would they not ask, Was it kindness, or, was it pride and scorn which cast us out of free America? And the inevitable reply would be, 'No thanks to white Americans; they hated and despised us; the benevolence of the best of them was heartless,—basely mixed with prejudice.' And if such would be the feelings of the colonists, much more of the mass of colored people left among us. 'The very scheme,' they would say, 'is an insult to us.' We appeal to every person's observation of human nature. Who ever heard of a man calmly acknowledging the benevolence of his neighbors in removing him, or proposing his removal, as a nuisance? The keenest sense of injury we recollect ever to have seen expressed, was that of a poor family who had been *warned out of town*, that is, upon whom the constable had served a notice which prevented them from gaining a residence in a place where they had lately settled, lest they should become a town charge. "Is a man to be insulted because he is poor?" bitterly exclaimed the man suspected of a tendency to pauperism, and while his wife with abundant tears scolded the constable, and his children flew at him with instinctive rage, he went on to curse the whole list of the civil authority, by name, for a set of cruel, canting, cheating hypocrites. When we placed ourself for a moment in his stead, we did not much wonder at his feelings. We think the reader will not find it difficult to call up even more striking illustrations of the principle. Let us place ourselves in the colored man's stead, and see if we can understand and appreciate colonization benevolence. Here is a man who professes to be my friend. He says, I can never rise here—he is sorry for it—but there is no help—if I stay I must be an outcast. He sincerely wishes my good, and to place me beyond the reach of this cruel prejudice and scorn, he will give some hundreds of dollars out of his tens of thousands. Is he the enemy of this prejudice? Why does he not live and act against it? Does he sympathize with me against a cruel public? Why does he not come and bear with me a share of this scorn? Does he think the whites wrong me? Why does he sacrifice my feelings to keep their respect? He says he wishes me happy. Why does he not wish to see me happy? He says he is benevolent. Does benevolence love to put its objects out of sight? True, he has given his money; and so he would give his money to get rid of a gang of wolves, and perhaps he would profess himself a great friend of theirs, if thus he could get their consent to enter his traps. I am afraid of his generosity.

We have lately met with an illustration so happy and so pat to our

purpose, that, at the risk of a little digression, we introduce it here. At a late Fair for the Blind, in the city of New York, the following touching lines were found, addressed to a well known abolitionist.

Oh! while the beaming eyes are spared,
That sparkle round thy board,
Remember these poor *sightless* ones,
The stricken of the Lord.

Sweet charity hath round thee cast
A mantle rich and wide;
And all that shrink from sorrow's blast
Find shelter by thy side.

Oh, may the SAVIOUR'S course on earth
Thy bright example be!
He who would "loose the captive's chain,"
Should cause the "*blind to see*."

How appropriate! "*Find shelter by thy side!*" The oppressed always find shelter *by the side* of "CHARITY." But could this have been said to a colonizationist? Does the despised and persecuted colored man find shelter *by his side*? Does he place him *by his side* at his table; *by his side* in church; *by his side* as he passes through the street? Does *he* do any thing, or give any thing, or risk any thing, that the colored man may dwell in peace *by his side*? The colonizationist may persuade himself and other white men, that "sweet charity" requires him to send the colored people a thousand leagues from *his side*, but can he persuade the colored people themselves? Never, till the laws of human nature are changed. Now, if it is the object of benevolence to spread *good will* among men, to make *peace* on earth, to allay jealousies, and bickerings, and heart-burnings, surely that must be a mistaken benevolence which cannot but implant ill-will, and jealousy, and hatred,—that must be a perverted benevolence which cannot but brand a sense of common injury upon millions.

For confirmation of the view taken from the first principles of human nature, we appeal to the actual history of the American Colonization Society. For many years that Society met with no active opposition among the whites. (We except of course some slaveholders, who misunderstood its object.) But by the blacks it has been opposed from the first. The mass of them have regarded the very existence of the society as an insult—the very promulgation of its scheme, as an act of hostility. A few, yielding to persecution, or the prospect of personal advantage, have fallen in with the plan—and it is possible that

some, ignorant of its grounds, have been persuaded to regard the scheme as benevolent—but all such have been looked upon by the mass of their brethren, and especially by the more intelligent, as little better than traitors. A white man first publicly denounced the Colonization Society in 1830, and his experience is worthy to be profoundly studied. In our apprehension, it demonstrates, that the Colonization Society had actually driven the colored people to the borders of despair. The people in a ship do not load with blessings the man who throws them a rope, unless they feel some danger of sinking. Mr. Garrison had suffered as an advocate for freedom and was doubtless dear to many colored as well as some white men; but when he opened his lips against the Colonization Society, then it was that from every city and village, from one end of the land to the other, he was hailed as an angel of mercy. A shout went up as if the Liberator had been the LIFE BOAT of the whole colored race, and Mr. Garrison stepped into a popularity, which, as matters were fifteen years before, would have cost him a life's labor. Some Colonizationists have replied to the multitudinous testimonials of approbation which poured in upon Mr. Garrison from all quarters, that *he got them up himself*, not to say that this is attributing to him powers greater than mortal ever wielded, the candid reader will see that it is more than overthrown by a reference to the proceedings of the colored people of Philadelphia in 1817. The Colonization Society had just then come into existence, and the question whether it should be regarded as a friend, was to be disposed of by one of the largest and most intelligent assemblies of colored people that could any where be brought together. The spontaneous and unanimous voice of more than three thousand of them was embodied in the following resolutions.

"Whereas, our ancestors (not of choice) were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendants feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manured; and that any measure or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but would be in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of this republic.

"*Resolved*, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, 'that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,' when in the state of disfranchisement, in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied round the standard of their country.

"*Resolved*, That we will never separate ourselves from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren by the ties of con-

unworthy to be used as the means of good either to America or Africa—either to the bond or the free. *It is due to the feelings and opinions of the colored people, that the plan should be abandoned.*

But with many benevolent advocates of colonization, there is a last resort in the idea that the Society is exerting a missionary influence upon Africa. They lose sight of the wrong done to the colored people here, in the glorious prospect of Christianizing Africa. We will close with a few suggestions on this subject.

None of the persons whom we are addressing will pretend that people who are in abject degradation and ignorance here can be the best missionaries even for Africa. The coast that has been so long cursed by the slave-trade is probably the most difficult missionary field in the world; and the more difficult the field the higher must be the qualifications of the missionaries. But it is supposed that a colony picked from our best colored people, who from their color can better stand the climate, and will less excite the prejudices of the natives, than whites, will be an excellent foundation or fulcrum for missionary operations. It will give the missionaries a resting place, and supplies, and safety; and the natives an attractive example of the happiness of civilization. The advocates of colonization for such a purpose cannot of course derive much support from the history of colonization as exhibited in New England, or Mexico, or South America, or the West Indies, or the Cape of Good Hope, for in all these cases the natives have been the losers. Let us see whether the actual history of Liberia is more favorable to their theory. The colony depends for its subsistence mainly upon its trade with the natives. The very articles of this traffic show what its tendency must be. Says Mr. J. B. Russwurm, Editor of the *Liberia Herald*, in a letter dated Nov. 18, 1829. "Tobacco, Rum, pipes, cloth, iron pots, powder and shot, are considered the currency of the country. Nothing can be done without *rum* in trade with the natives, &c." Mr. Ashmun declared that *Rum* was indispensable in trading with the natives. Mr. Gurley, in the *African Repository* for Jan. 1831, says "In the judgment of the most worthy colonists, the native traders would *entirely abandon the colony*, were ardent spirits entirely excluded from its commerce—and that, were it prohibited, it would be offered by slave traders on the coast within a few leagues of the colony—the facilities for introducing it clandestinely are innumerable."

A colony must buy the good will of the natives at any price. They *will have Rum*. Said Mr. Ashmun in 1826, "It may illustrate a trait

"of the African character to observe, that the consideration which "moved this chief to accord to the settlers a privilege, which has manifestly led to their permanent establishment at Montserado, and the "translation of the country to new masters, was the complement of "half a dozen gallons of Rum, and an equal amount of tobacco." Rum has usually formed a part of the consideration paid by the American Colonization Society for the territory it has acquired. We quote from the terms of some of these contracts which may be found in the Society's Eleventh Report.

"4th. The American Colonization Society shall have the right in consideration of *five hundred bars of tobacco, THREE BARRELS OF RUM, five casks of powder, five pieces of long buff, five boxes of pipes, ten guns, five umbrellas, ten iron pots, and ten pairs of shoes*, immediately to enter into possession of the tract of unoccupied land, bounded towards the west by Stockton Creek, and on the north by St. Paul's river, &c."

The Sesters Territory was perpetually leased to the Colonization Society on the 27th Oct., 1825, by King Freeman, "in consideration "of *one hogshead of tobacco, one punchcon of rum, six boxes of pipes*, to "be paid and delivered to [him] yearly, every year, the first to commence from the date of these presents," &c.

The natural consequences of such treaties have not been wanting. In its very infancy the colony was involved in a war, in which the Rev. Mr. Ashmun gained great glory by his courage and conduct. His description of one of their battles, we quote at some length, because it capitally illustrates the *christianizing* power of a colony.

"A few musketeers, with E. Johnson at their head, by passing round upon the enemy's flank, served to increase the consternation which was beginning to pervade their unwieldy body. In about twenty minutes after the settlers had taken their stand, the front of the enemy began to recoil. But from the numerous obstructions in their rear, the entire absence of discipline, and the extreme difficulty of giving a reversed motion to so large a body, a small part only of which was directly exposed to danger, and the delay occasioned by the practice of carrying off all the dead and wounded, rendered a retreat for some minutes longer impossible. The very violence employed by those in the front, in their impatience to hasten it, by increasing the confusion, produced an effect opposite to that intended. The Americans,* perceiving their advantage, now regained possession of the western post, and instantly brought the long line to rake the whole line of the enemy. Imagination can scarcely figure to itself a throng of human beings in a more capital state of exposure to the destructive power of the machinery of modern warfare! Eight hundred men were here pressed shoulder to shoulder, in so compact a form, that a child might easily walk upon their heads from one end of the mass to the other,

* In America they were Africans.—Ed.

presenting in their rear a breadth of rank equal to twenty or thirty, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform, at only thirty to sixty yards distance. *Every man deliberately spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh!* Their fire suddenly terminated. A savage yell was raised, which filled the dismal forest with a momentary horror. In great numbers they died away, and the whole host disappeared. At eight o'clock, the well-known signal of their dispersion and return to their homes was sounded, and many small parties were seen at a distance, directly afterwards, moving off in different directions. One large canoe, employed in reconveying a party across the mouth of the Monteverde, returning within the range of the long gun, was struck by a shot, and several men killed."

It is not our purpose to blame the Colonization Society, or Mr. Ashmun, or the colony, for this or any of the subsequent wars with the natives. In the late experiment at Bussa Cove, we are willing to admit that the founders of Edina meant to adhere strictly to the "*peace principle*." Yet they were attacked by the natives, and felt themselves obliged to retaliate by the destruction of a native town. *The fault lies in the colonizing scheme itself.* We do not see how a "new empire" can be built up on the shores of Africa without war—and, if such an empire must be built up by war, we do not see how its building up can possibly aid the conquests of the Prince of Peace.

Our limits forbid an array of testimony in regard to the actual progress made by means of the colony in evangelizing the natives. It may be found in Jay's Inquiry, pages 59—60. A single passage from a letter of Rev. J. B. Finney, then a missionary, but since governor of the colony, dated Monrovia, February 20, 1833, will suffice. It has not ceased, and never will cease, to be descriptive of the relation of the colonists to the natives.

"The colonists are very ignorant of every thing about the interior. Except of the tribes along the coast, nothing at all is known; and of them, little but their manner of traffic. Nothing has been done for the natives, hitherto, by the colonists, except to educate a few who were in their families in the capacity of servants. The natives are, as to wealth and intellectual cultivation, related to the colonists, as the negro of America is to the white man; and this fact, added to their mode of dress, which consists of nothing, usually, but a handkerchief around the loins, leads to the same distinction, as exists in America between colors. A colonist of any dye (and many there are of a darker hue than the Vey, or Dey, or Kroo, or Bassa) would, if at all respectable, think himself degraded by marrying a native. The natives are in fact *mentals* (I mean those in town), and sorry am I to be obliged to say, that from my limited observation, it is evident, that as little effort is made by the colonists to elevate them, as is usually made by the higher classes in the United States to better the condition of the lower."

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. III. NO. III.

MARCH, 1837.

WHOLE No. 37.

THE SLAVEHOLDER'S HEART.

WE are often told of the kind feelings which are reciprocated between master and slave. The master, it is said, regards his slaves as thrown by Providence under his protection—a part of his family—objects of his fatherly care—he lives to promote their best interests. In return, the slaves are attached to their master, and would die to defend him. They make his interests their own, and rejoice in all his prosperity.

It will be the object of the following pages to refer to some of the exhibitions which slaveholders and their representatives have, in various ways and on various occasions, made of their feelings towards slaves. These exhibitions will perhaps enable us to test the likeness of the picture to which we have alluded. We shall be able to estimate the value of that fatherly care which a slave receives, placed, soul and body, at the disposal of a heart which feels towards him a sovereign contempt, and a stubborn determination to persevere in stripping him of all the attributes of manhood.

The most reproachful epithet that a slaveholder can bestow upon his opponent, is the term *slave*. In expressing their determination not to submit to northern interference, the slaveholders of the south have been able to find no stronger language than this, Were we to permit such interference, we should be fit to be *SLAVES*. In expressing their abhorrence of the tariff, they told us it reduced them to the condition of *SLAVES*. With them there seems to be a force and meaning in the word *slave*, which fits it to express the superlative of meanness and misery—to cap the climax of contempt. There is also among slaveholders a peculiar jealousy for their own freedom. "The loudest yelps for liberty," truly, are heard amongst them. If we are to credit their professions, it is with them that liberty has built her altar, and

"Sec. 9d. And be it further enacted, That after due notice of this act at the several custom-houses, no ship or vessel whatever shall receive a clearance for any port or place within the island of St. Domingo, and not in the actual possession of France: nor shall any clearance be granted for a foreign voyage to any ship or vessel, owned, hired, or employed wholly or in part, by any person resident in the United States, until the owner or the employer for the voyage, or his factor or agent with the master, shall give bond to the United States, in a sum equal to the value of the vessel and of her cargo, with condition that the ship or vessel for which a clearance shall be required, is destined to some port or place without the limits of such part of the island of St. Domingo as shall not be in the actual possession and under the acknowledged government of France, and during the intended voyage shall not be voluntarily carried, or permitted to proceed, whether directly or from any intermediate port or place, to any port or place within such part of the island of St. Domingo," &c.

Was such an act passed in regard to the revolted South American colonies? or Mexico? or Greece? or will one be passed in regard to Texas? Can we plead that St. Domingo or Haiti had not an organized, an efficient government? No. From the diplomatic correspondence submitted to congress during the passage of the law, it appears that Haiti not only had a government but an efficient one, under which the rights and interests of foreigners trading with her, as well as of her own citizens, were well protected. General Turreau, the French minister at Washington, in an official note of unparalleled impudence, while speaking of the Haitians as "robbers," as "that race of African slaves, the reproach and the refuse of nature," complains that a lucrative commerce was carried on with them from all our ports. And Talleyrand, in a letter to General Armstrong, our minister at Paris, calls his attention to a passage in one of our newspapers, in which was described a "feast" given by some merchants of New York, on the return of their vessels from Haiti. "The ninth toast," says Talleyrand, "given to the government of Haiti, cannot fail, sir, to excite your indignation."*

Comment on this foul and shameful piece of legislation is quite unnecessary. It shows out the heart of the slaveholder. Almost every vote of opposition to the law came from the north. The slaves are placed under masters capable of joining with a tyrant in his mean attempt to starve that young liberty which had triumphed over his best legions, because forsooth the new freemen had once been "African slaves."

Passed by the House of Representatives Feb. 23, 1806—Yeas 63, Nays 26. Among its opposers in the Senate is the name of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

* State Papers, 1801—6, p. 364.

In the same spirit of mean hatred, our government has always refused to recognise the political independence of Haiti. Our commissioners to the celebrated congress of Panama were even instructed to oppose the recognition of Haiti in that body. Said Mr. Berrien of Georgia in the debate on the Panama mission, "We must hold language equally decisive to the Spanish American States. We cannot allow their principle of universal emancipation to be called into activity in a situation where its contagion from our neighborhood would be dangerous to our quiet and safety." It would seem as though slaveholding had extinguished every spark of generosity in the slaveholder's heart.

The meanness of slaveholding, by a sort of conventional license, has leave to stalk abroad in open daylight. It does not strive to conceal itself. What is it that the slaveholder professes to fear above all things? Insurrection. The loss of his power. The fair retribution which he avows that he himself would visit upon his oppressor, were he in the place of his slave. The slaveholders, together with their particular friends at the north, justify all their outrageous violations of law and order, by their *fear of insurrection*. 'Look at our circumstances,' they say; 'you of the north can afford to be calm while you discuss this question. You can throw firebrands, and smile—you have nothing to lose by it. But if your homes were like ours, upon a magazine of powder, it would be a very different affair.' The bonfires of Anti-Slavery publications at Charleston and Richmond; the robberies of the mail; the lynching of "innocent men," as at Farmville, Virginia; the flogging of Amos Dresser at Nashville; the murder by scores of untried men, on suspicion of a design to rise; the burning of men alive—without judge or jury; the acquittal of these horrid murderers on account of their *numbers*; all these things show how much the slaveholders *fear*—and FEAR is always CRUEL. It is the fear of having the slaves understand their rights that embodies and animates and impels the whole host of their tyrants; and of all the meanness or baseness of heart under the canopy of heaven, this same craven fear is the worst. What! do you ask me to be the slave of a man who dreads to have me learn the alphabet; who is in terrors lest I should read a printed book; who is horrified at the bare thought of my being able to write my name!

But we have been lately furnished with another illustration of the proud contempt, strangely mingled with base fear, with which slaveholders look upon their slaves.

One would think that kind, fatherly, patriarchal men, would look graciously upon all petitions coming from the poor and weak, and especially from those whom Providence had thrown under their own guardianship. It is not so hard to be understood how they should feel themselves insulted by foreigners petitioning on behalf of their "contented and happy peasantry;" but if individuals of that peasantry itself, feeling themselves in some respect aggrieved, should think it proper to address the assembled legislators of their country, we are bound to believe that the representatives of slaveholders would be the first to listen to their complaints, and the readiest to redress them. What other conduct can we possibly reconcile with their pretensions? They pretend that slavery makes its subjects contented and happy. It quells their desires, satisfies their wants, relieves them of their cares and anxieties. This is its business. Well, if any slaves should after all feel and express desires, will the masters, who live only for their good, satisfy and make them happy by contemptuously refusing to hear their prayer, denying their right to make it, and abusing them as if they had been horses or dogs? If so, we cannot understand how it is that slavery makes men happy.

The hearts of slaveholders in regard to the petitions of slaves have just been tested. On the 6th of February, 1837, the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, while presenting petitions to the House of Representatives of the United States, said,

"He held in his hand a petition from twenty-two persons, declaring themselves to be SLAVES. He wished to know whether the Chair considered this as a paper coming within the order of the House. He would withhold the petition until the decision was made."

The "order of the House" referred to by Mr. Adams, was "that all papers, petitions, and memorials, on the subject of the abolition of slavery, be laid on the table." Not a word had Mr. Adams said of the nature of the prayer. What right had the patriarchs to suppose that it was for the abolition of that providential arrangement whereby their humble dependants possess a happiness greater than freedom? Mr. Adams knew that it was not for the abolition of slavery; but as petitions had been subjected to the rule merely for the words *slaves* or *slavery*, he thought it not best to present it till he had obtained the decision of the chair. The chair thought it a "novel case," and left it to the decision of the House. Upon this the following display of patriarchal kindness and benignity took place:

"Mr. Lewis," of Alabama, "said it was in the power of the House

to PUNISH this atrocious attempt to present a petition from SLAVES to this House. If not, *we had better go home.*" Several gentlemen here cried out that the member from Mass. ought to be instantly expelled from the House.

"Mr. Alford," of Georgia, "said, the moment the petition was presented and came within the power of the House, he should move that it be taken from the files and burnt. He called on Southern members to support him in this course. *If this state of things was to be tolerated, the Union would not survive another session.*"

"Mr. Thompson, of South Carolina, rose to ask the member from Massachusetts to present his petition, or to move its reading. He would then bring himself within a resolution of a personal character, which he held in his hand: [a resolution expelling Mr. Adams from the House.]"

"Mr. Ripley, of Louisiana, came in front of the Chair, and addressed the Speaker. He said he did not intend to sit here deliberating upon the question of receiving petitions from SLAVES. If it had come to that, he was for taking a course adequate to the crisis. The Speaker interfered. The gentleman from Louisiana could not be allowed to speak while the yeas and nays were being called. Mr. Ripley accordingly retired."

"Mr. Bouldin wished not to be kept in suspense upon this point. He wished to know whether he was right in believing that he was surrounded by brokers sitting in consultation upon the interest, the prosperity, happiness, and glory of their common family and country, or whether a portion, a considerable portion, were willing to countenance a proposition of this kind—a proposition that could admit of no interpretation milder than that of a direct insult to the feelings of the South. The most natural import, a direct attack upon the interest, the property, and the safety, of the slaveholding portion of the Union."

"Mr. W. Thompson, of South Carolina, said he had risen to move as an amendment to the motion of the honorable gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Patton) the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the honorable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, by the attempt just made by him to introduce a petition purporting on its face to be from slaves, has been guilty of a gross disrespect to this House, and that he be instantly brought to the bar to receive the severe censure of the Speaker."

Mr. Thompson said, "The gentleman from Massachusetts offered to present a petition from slaves, and so purporting to be on its face, in open and wilful violation of what he knew to be the rules of this House, and insulting to a large portion of its members. Does the gentleman, even in the latitude which he gives to the right of petition, think that it includes slave? If he does not, he has wilfully violated the rules of the House and the feelings of its members. Does that gentleman know that there are laws in all the slave states, and here, for the punishment of those who excite insurrection? I can tell him that there are such things: as grand juries; and if, sir, the juries of this District have, as I doubt not they have, proper intelligence and spirit, he may yet be made amenable to another tribunal, and we may yet see an incendiary brought to condign punishment."

Some modification of the resolutions was proposed by Mr. Haynes of Georgia, and the following, suggested by Mr. Lewis, was accepted by Mr. Thompson :

"Resolved, That JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, a member from the state of Massachusetts, by his attempt to introduce into this House a petition from slaves, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, committed an outrage on the rights and feelings of a large portion of the People of this Union; a flagrant contempt on the dignity of this House; and, by extending to slaves a privilege only belonging to freemen, directly invites the slave population to insurrection: and that the said member be forthwith called to the bar of the House, and be censured by the Speaker."

Up to this period, the representatives of slaveholders had driven forward with the most furious madness, utterly overlooking the question whether the petition prayed for the abolition of slavery or not, when they were told that if they had permitted the petition to be read, it would have appeared that it prayed for an object directly the reverse, and might be, and probably was, a *hoax* played off by slaveholders themselves, to bring contempt upon Mr. Adams; but which he had used, as he had a right to, to draw from the House an expression of opinion in regard to the question whether the right of petition belongs to slaves. This development served still further to draw out the hearts of slaveholders :

"Mr. Thompson said he was sorry to see the air of levity which it is attempted to throw over this matter. He felt very differently. What, sir, is it a mere trifle to *hoax*, to trifle with the members from the South in this way, and on this subject? Is it a light thing, for the amusement of others, to irritate, almost to madness, the whole delegation from the slave states? Sir, it is an aggravation. It is intimated that the petition does not pray for the abolition of slavery, but a very different object. It makes not the slightest difference; it is the attempt to introduce a petition from slaves for any object; as insolent if it be for one purpose as for another. It is the naked fact of a presentation of a petition from slaves."

"Mr. T. then further modified his resolution by substituting the three following resolutions:

"1. *Resolved, That the Hon. JOHN Q. ADAMS, by an effort to present a petition from slaves, has committed a gross contempt of this House.*

"2. *Resolved, That the member from Massachusetts above named, by creating the impression, and leaving the House, under that impression, that the said petition was for the abolition of slavery when he knew that it was not, has trifled with the House.*

"3. *Resolved, That the Hon. JOHN Q. ADAMS receive the censure of the House for his conduct referred to in the above resolutions."*

In the course of the debate, the following remarks fell from Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina:

"As long as we were members of this body, we were bound to maintain its dignity, and do what we could to prevent scenes calculated to harass and insult the feelings of a large portion of the members of this House, by calling down its censure upon the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. ADAMS), for his wanton attempt to introduce the *rights of slaves* upon this floor, and by avowing he held a paper in his pocket purporting to be a petition from slaves, signed by twenty-two. Mr. Pickens said this admitted that he had communication with slaves, and was evidence in law of *collusion*. It broke down the principle that the slave could only be known through his MASTER. For this he was INDICTABLE, under statute, for aiding and abetting INSURRECTION: and for such conduct is he not amenable to the censure of this House? The privilege of speech protected a member from being questioned before any other tribunal, but does not exempt him from being questioned before this House."

One whole day having been consumed in this discussion, it was resumed on the following day. Mr. Dromgoole of Virginia then presented the following remarkable substitute for Mr. Thompson's three resolutions:

"Resolved, That the Hon. JOHN Q. ADAMS, a member of the House, by stating in his place that he had in his possession a paper, purporting to be a *petition from slaves*, and inquiring if it was within the meaning of a resolution heretofore adopted (as preliminary to its presentation), has given *color to the idea* that slaves have a right to petition, and of his readiness to be their organ; and that, for the same, he ~~deserves the censure of this House~~."

"Resolved, That the aforesaid JOHN Q. ADAMS receive a censure from the Speaker, in the presence of the House of Representatives."

The discussion lasted with unabated heat during the whole of this day. Hardly a slaveholder took part in it, who did not express the utmost indignation that any man should dare, in the Congress of the United States, to give "*color to the idea*" that slaves have a right to petition, or congress a right to receive their petitions. On a subsequent day the subject was taken up, and after a most eloquent defence of his conduct by Mr. Adams, the sense of the House was taken on the following resolutions, substituted by Mr. Patton of Virginia:

"Resolved, That any member who shall hereafter present to the House any petition from the slaves of this Union, ought to be considered as regardless of the feelings of the House, of the rights of the southern states, and unfriendly to the Union—and this resolution was rejected—Yeas 92, Nays 105.

"And the main question was then taken on the second branch of the main question, which is as follows:

"Resolved, That the Hon. JOHN Q. ADAMS, having solemnly dis-
claimed all design of offering any thing disrespectful to the House, in
the inquiry made of the Speaker as to a petition purporting to be from
slaves, and having avowed his intention not to offer to present the said
petition if the House should be of opinion that it ought not to be pre-
sented; therefore, all proceedings in regard to his conduct do now
cease.

"This resolution was rejected—Yeas 22, Nays 137."

Thus, by the force of truth and common sense, was the House of Representatives temporarily saved from openly plunging into despotism fouler than ever disgraced any arbitrary monarchy—the despotism of stopping the ear of the law-making power against the cry of the poor. Thus narrowly were the most sacred privileges of our representatives saved from being trampled under the feet of slavery; and thus did the venerable Ex-President of the United States escape the censure of the House for a contempt of its dignity, and an indictment by the grand jury of the District of Columbia, as a promoter of insurrection!

But the representatives of slaveholders had not yet showed out the whole of their hearts. The outrage upon their "rights" and interests and fears, by the color given to the idea that slaves have a right to petition, was not to be left unatoned—perish the Union first. In solemn procession they left the hall of the House of Representatives, and assembled themselves in conclave. Here they debated the question whether they should all return to their *constituencies* dictated terms to the House. A correspondent of the Charleston Mercury writes, "I was pleased at the rebuke with which Mr. Alford (of Georgia) met the suggestion of Mr. Lewis and General Ripley, that the southern members had no business here, and ought to go home in a body, if the attempt to present the petitions of slaves should be tolerated by the House.* 'No,' said Mr. Alford; 'let us stand or fall at our posts. The ground on which we stand belongs to the southern and slaveholding region; and this city was founded by and bears the name of our beloved Washington, himself a southern man and a slaveholder. Here let us meet the question, AND LET THIS CITY BE RAZED TO ITS FOUNDATIONS, AND THE POTOMAC ROLL IN TORRENTS OF BLOOD, before we yield it.'"

* These suggestions had been made in the House before the toleration of the House had been expressed, and were designed to frighten the House from such toleration. But when the southern legislators were by themselves, they considered the Union rather as a matter to be fought for, than run away from!

Here is the **HEART** of the **SLAVEHOLDER**. What is the matter? Has a destroyer threatened to come down upon the patriarchal homes with fire and sword? Has Mr. Adams threatened to violate the rights or interests of the people committed to patriarchal care? No. He has given *color to the idea* that slaves may *petition*. He has offered to speak for the dumb. He has ventured to ask the Speaker of the House of Representatives if he might be permitted to step over the principle that the slave is a mere thing, to be known only through his master. And for this the Potomac is to roll in torrents of blood!

After two separate sessions, the southern delegation returned as they went. They would give up a "Southern Convention," provided the House would reconsider its vote, and declare that slaves have no constitutional right to petition. Although the constitution, without setting up, or in any way indicating, a distinction between freemen and slaves, forbids congress to pass any law abridging the right of "THE PEOPLE" to petition for the redress of *their grievances*, yet the House, at the dictation of a minority, reconsidered its vote, and resolved, only **EIGHTEEN MEN** voting in the negative, that the slaves have not the right to present the humblest petition, whatever may be their "*grievances*." Not even the slaves of the District under the exclusive legislation of congress are to be considered a part of the people for whose protection the constitution was established. It is in vain for slaveholders to pretend that slaves are not *people*; the very terms by which they themselves often designate them are, "my people," "our people," "my colored people," "our colored people." So they are *people*, and of course a part of the people of the United States. By this inhuman resolution congress has not abridged, but utterly taken away the right which they as well as we derived from a source higher than the constitution, and which that instrument was designed to protect from their power. This arrogant dictation of the South, and this dastardly succumbency of the North, will go out to the whole world, and down to all time, as a revelation of the falsehood of proslavery pretences, and of the utter rottenness of the *slaveholder's heart*.

We will close this exhibition of the slaveholder's heart by giving a few notes of the echo which the first discussion on this subject in the House of Representatives called forth from the slave states. The following extracts are taken from editorial articles in the three leading newspapers of Charleston, S. C., of February 15, 1837.

The **COURIER** says:

"We are not well satisfied of either the policy or propriety of hav-

ing asked of congress such a negation of right—the matter was too preposterous in itself to require any action, and such a mode of meeting it was giving too much consequence, if not countenance, to the mad folly of Mr. Adams;—but the question having been made, the constitution of the country and the rights of the South should have insured a different answer."

The PATRIOT says:

But the South is now aroused by this last act of aggravated wrong, and will proceed, we are sure, in a manner that will vindicate its dignity and protect its interests. Should it [the first vote] not be reversed, there is no alternative left the Southern members but retiring in a body, and coming home to their constituents."

The MERCURY, in the true patriarcho-furioso, says:

"The public mind of the South must be now prepared for concerted and decisive action, or it never will be. Public opinion in the South would now, we are sure, *justify an immediate resort to force, by the SOUTHERN DELEGATION—EVEN ON THE FLOOR OF CONGRESS*—were they forthwith to seize and drag from the hall any man who dared insult them, as that eccentric old showman, John Quincy Adams, has dared to do. If there be laws against incendiaries in the District of Columbia, he should be indicted. If the privileges of the House are to screen an abolitionist who holds concert with the slaves of the District, it is time that *Virginia and Maryland* should interfere, and **PUT DOWN SUCH A NUISANCE AS CONGRESS** must be upon their borders."

Here is the kind, protecting, patriarchal spirit to which we are required to consign two and a half millions of our brethren—manacled and gagged—and to close our lips in eternal silence. Here are the hearts with which we are required to sympathise, on pain of being knocked down and dragged out. Here is the voice of that amiable system to whose dictates we are required to yield, as we value the glorious Union. Is any one so blind as not to see that the *heart of the slaveholder* must blast and crush and grind to powder every particle of the slave's rights, or interests, or happiness, that stands in the way of its own lusts? Is any one so blind as not to see the danger to our common country of permitting such a heart to riot in the plunder of the helpless, unchecked by exposure, unsawed by truth, unscathed by rebuke? Are we to believe that the constitution binds us to sacrifice humanity and duty and conscience to men who hold the eternal foundation principles of that constitution to be an intolerable nuisance? Surely mercy to the master, as well as the slave, binds us to promulgate that truth which alone has the power to heal his cankered, festering, pestilent heart!

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. III. No. IV.

APRIL, 1837.

WHOLE No. 222

SLAVERY.

THE RIGHT OF NORTHERN INTERFERENCE.

"What right," says the slaveholder, "have you non-slaveholders, citizens of other states, to *interfere* in my domestic affairs—to come between me and my slaves? You might as well step between me and my children, and dictate the terms of my family government. Is slavery any concern of yours?"—Yes, it is. Slavery is not a domestic affair. The power of the master, is not the natural power of a father over his children, but the usurped power of a tyrant over other men's children. Slavery is not family government, but the destruction of families. All the families of the earth are as much concerned to put it down, as they would be to put down, if they could, the cholera, or yellow fever, or plague. We have a better right to interfere between master and slave, than we had to interfere between Greek and Turk, between Pole and Russian, between the vassals of Europe and their arbitrary tyrants. The evil is nearer, more contagious, and a thousand times more dreadful. The oppressors are united with us by many political ties, they mingle with us in business and pleasure, they spread their thoughts and feelings before us, they tempt us to partake with them or imitate them in oppression. Some of us by the blandishments of slavery are strongly and daily tempted to become tyrants, and more are exposed, by its rapacity, to become the victims of tyranny. There is such a thing as the *spirit of slavery*; and it is a spirit hostile to free institutions—a deceitful spirit—an undermining, cankering, corrupting spirit—the very elect are sufficiently in danger from it. It is the spirit which has built its great nests and its little nests all about the thrones of Europe—those old rookeries whose tenants pick the very bones of the king-ridden people. But to us, those enslaving establishments are comparatively harmless. We fear not their force,

and we are not within reach of their seductive arts. But what if those kingdoms were set afloat on the Atlantic and towed up along side of us? What if our chief merchants, and leading politicians—what if the poets, philosophers, lawyers, editors, and divines,—the men who do our thinking for us, were intimate at the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg—dancing with the daughters of Prince Metternich (if he has any) and kissing the hand of his Imperial Majesty, the sublime autocrat, Nicholas, &c. &c., would not our free institutions be in some danger of being sapped by the spirit of slavery? The autocrats, it must be remembered, have abundantly improved numerous opportunities to fleece their people, and have something to give to the polite, sleek fellows who will consent to prop up their old thrones—something that will make them sleeker and glossier than before. We know well enough how little our worthy, free-minded republican fellow citizens would relish such sort of congealing to tyrants. We know well enough what sort of interference they would soon set about. They would say, the question of liberty is a question of principle, not of geography. We will talk, write, print and vote against all who sympathize with the oppressor rather than the oppressed. The oppressed shall have our whole sympathy, and so far as the laws of nations admit, our active aid.

It is said, any agitation of the subject of slavery must excite the North against the South, and involve the nation in a geographical quarrel. It will do no such thing. The question is altogether one of principle, and not one of sectional interests. The war of anti-slavery and pro-slavery is not a geographical war. The two parties are diffused over the whole country. There are far more abolitionists at the South than at the North. In two of the states, South Carolina and Louisiana, they constitute a numerical majority. In siding with the majority of the people of those states, do we not side with the states? It is true, the abolitionists of the South are more oppressed, they actually suffer all the evils which a pro-slavery aristocracy is striving to bring upon those of the North. Their right to use the press is wholly prostrated—they are not allowed even to read a printed book, nor to meet together and petition for a redress of grievances; in fact, wrong and outrage have done them their worst, and triumphed over every vestige of their human rights.* But is that a reason why we should not take their part? Are we to be accused of going against

* For a full exposition of the treatment of southern abolitionists, see *Anti Slavery Record*, January 1837

the South, when we advocate the interests of more than half the population of the South? Are we the enemies of the South, when we would redress the wrongs of 2,400,000 of her people, without violating the rights of any? Let it be remembered, too, the question lies between these 2,400,000, and *that portion* of the white population who claim them as *their property*—and not between them and the whole white population. Now, on an average, the slaves claimed by an estate, are far more numerous than the persons directly interested in the property of the estate. Hence the slave population is a *majority over* the white population that can, even by slaveholding laws, establish any claim of property in them. As between them and their masters, they are, in fact, the people of the South. The simple truth is this. At the South there are two parties in conflict, and the abolitionists of the North take sides with the wronged party, which is also the largest party.

And there are slaveholders at the North. Some there are who actually hold their fellow-citizens as property in more southern states. Witness the case of *Jack vs. Mary Martin*, in the Supreme Court of the state of New York, in which it was decided that Mrs. Martin, a lady resident in New York city, had not only a right to hold slaves in Louisiana, but to send them back, if any of them should escape from her plantation to a free state. And many others who are not slaveholders in fact, are so in feeling. Witness the mobs innumerable, openly or covertly got up by "men of property and standing," solely to vindicate *the right of property in human flesh*. There are multitudes among us, high in wealth and office, and strong in the influence derived therefrom, who have shown themselves ready to go to any degree of violence in the defence of slaveholding principles. Would such men object, in a change of circumstances, to slaveholding practice? No. They are slaveholders in heart—men who love wealth, and power, better than they love their fellow-men. The line which runs between the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery camps, is not a geographical, but a moral line. The two principles are at irreconcilable war,—the two parties cannot peacefully coexist; either the one must be driven from the geography of the globe, or the other must be wholly and permanently brutified, or the conflict must be eternal.

Northern interference, forsooth! The complaint comes with an ill grace from the master. It is the slave who has a right to complain of northern interference. While he has been gagged and pinioned, the master has been courting northern interference against him. While

the slave has been toiling in forced silence on the rice or cotton plantation, his master has been travelling over the North, and prejudicing the minds of the people against him and his rights, by the cruel calumnies of his not being able to take care of himself, and of his being ready to cut his master's throat if freed. While the slave has been driven to daily labor on his peck of corn a week, the master has been feasting at his expense, and driving fine bargains with the northern merchants; whereby they, admitted to a share of the plunder, take part with him against the slaves. Slaveholders have never decried northern interference against the slaves. They are willing enough that northern legislatures should pass laws to help them recover their fugitives. They are willing enough that northern ministers should preach in favor of slavery. And they are willing that northern editors should publish as much as they please about the "delicate subject," if they will only say it ought not to be discussed: dwell on the horrors of St. Domingo, as if they were caused by emancipation, and assert that the slaves are better off than if they were free. Give the slaves but the power of speech, and they could tell of a northern interference as mean and malignant as mammon ever hired, or malice ever executed. They could tell of colleges bought with southern students and southern money. They could tell of ministers of the gospel bought with southern salaries. They could tell of authors and editors, legislators and judges, bought by southern patronage and southern votes. They could tell of public sentiment poisoned against them, and all the fiend-like prejudices of the infernal pit stirred up against them. It is time that this sort of interference should be met by a counter-interference.

† To say nothing of our own rights and interests endangered by slavery, we have a right to interfere, and it is our solemn duty to do so, because the noblest instinct God has implanted in our nature prompts us to take the part of the weak against the strong, of the wrong sufferer against the wrong doer. This impulse we cannot resist without doing violence to our natures, and sinning against God. The slaveholders themselves profess to reverence the principle, and be guided by it in their sympathy for the oppressed—wherever their own interests are not concerned.

But the penalty of disobedience to this high impulse is the loss of our own rights. Let us see more particularly how slavery endangers our own liberties.

It is said, our fathers made a compact with the fathers of the South, whereby we have given up all right to do any thing for the overthrow

of slavery. If they did, they *compact* away our liberties, as we shall presently see. Two facts out of a multitude are sufficient to show this; 1. Here are three or four large denominations of Christians which embrace, each within its pale, slaveholders and non-slaveholders. Their leaders meet together—not a word must be said on this subject; they recognise each other as Christians—the non-slaveholders are delighted with the noble, generous, *hospitable* spirit of the slaveholders, and learn to regard slaveholding itself without abhorrence. Hence the high sanction of religion is thrown around, not the slavery of the “Africana,” but the principle of *property in man*. Hence even religious men feel no scruple at all to go to the South, and become slaveholders, slave-drivers, slave-traffickers. They can amass a fortune by buying and selling their fellow Christians, and yet remain in good standing with the church! 2d. Our congressmen meet on slaveholding territory the representatives of slaveholders, and are thrown into the same crucible with them, to form anew their habits, thoughts, and feelings. What wonder if some of them should come out slaveholders in spirit? Is the human heart incorruptible? “Can a man take live coals in his bosom and not be burned?”—All the while, it must be remembered, not a word can be said against slavery, on account of the compact.

While these two avenues to the heart of the whole people are left open—with every thing to drive forward the barbed shaft of slavery, and no power to retard it—do we think that heart is safe? Nothing in human affairs is more certain than that, with such a temptation at work upon them, night and day, and nothing to oppose it, our leading men in church and state, would soon be prepared to make slaves. And with a slaveholding spirit well established, there would be no stopping at one particular color. It would soon be found that a great many *white* men are unable “to take care of themselves;” and might be conveniently and comfortably provided for, by turning them into chattels. The process would begin with the poorest and most spiritless, of course. But it would be cunningly managed, and would work upwards rapidly. There are many ways of making slaves when men have the *heart* to do it. Are we, the “common people” of the North, sure that we have parted with none of our rights already to gratify the slaveholding tastes that our divines have caught at their general conferences, and general assemblies? That we have lost none for what our great men have learnt at Washington? We appeal to common sense, whether our liberties are worth a straw, we being bound by a

compact not to oppose the worst species of tyranny. If we may not pour upon the detestable usurpation of property in man, the scorching, annihilating rebuke which it deserves, we have not the least security that we shall not ourselves be fettered hand and foot by it, and driven to the shambles. Better that the compact were scattered in ashes, than be bound by it to roast to death over the slow fire of slavery.

The truth is, the compact reserves to us, and sacredly guards the best possible armor, offensive and defensive, against slavery—**THE LIBERTY OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS.** It never bound us, openly or tacitly, not to use this armor. It is because we are in compact with slaveholders, that we are the more bound to use it. We are in compact, be it remembered, with *the whole South.* And we are bound to promote the liberty and happiness of the whole South, as well as to defend and promote our own. If there are men at the South who hate liberty, and are determined we should surrender ours for the support of slavery, let them take the responsibility of dissolving the compact as soon as they choose, and run the risks of another sort of warfare. For ourselves, we are willing to abide by the whole compact, but not by a part of it.

It may be said, "true, we are interested in slavery, and have the right to talk about it, but what good will it do? We have not the power to abolish it."

Suppose we have not the power to abolish it, we have the power to guard against its encroachments. This may be done by talking and printing, and cannot be done otherwise. But it is not true that we have not the power to abolish it. By the most express sanctions of the constitution, congress has power to abolish it at the seat of the national government, and in congress a majority of forty are from free states. If the free states please, they can banish slavery from the ten miles square, and make it *safe for northern free citizens to reside there.* They can say that men and women shall not be an article of barter between the states. As northern men, then, it is our duty and right to give congress no peace, till the principles of the constitution are carried out in the District of Columbia, and the internal slave trade is abolished. To bring the North up to this work, it is necessary that the spirit of slavery at the North be met and conquered. The prejudice of caste must be killed and buried. Colored men must be allowed to take the place, freely, to which their manhood entitles them. Let the North come up to the exertion of its legitimate and

constitutional powers in the spirit of freedom. Let her say to the holders of the bond for human flesh, take the flesh that is in your bond, but take more at your peril—in the language of Portia to the Jew:—

———“prepare thee to cut off the flesh;
Shed thou no blood; nor cut thou less, nor more,
But just a pound of flesh: if thou tak'st more,
Or less than a just pound—be it but so much
As makes it light, or heavy, in the substance
Or the division of the twentieth part
Of one poor scruple; nay, if the scale do turn
But in the estimation of a hair,—
Thou diest, and all thy goods are confiscate.”

Let the North yield the penalty of the bond,—let her stand by her “compact” in this spirit, and it might soon be asked in regard to the South, “Why doth the Jew pause?” The fact is, the *flesh* is not in the bond. The South never dared to put it there, except by an equivocation. She demands that we yield her both flesh and blood, *by courtesy of interpretation*;—and we have been courteous—most murderously courteous!—Is there not something for us to do?

But we have another power, which may be brought to bear still more effectually upon slavery in the southern states. That wickedness is sustained in those states by the countenance of Christian churches—not the churches of those states, but of ours. Nothing but the precious ointment of a *good name* in the Christian world, saves the abomination from becoming too offensive for the endurance of even most of the slaveholders themselves. Let all Christian churches, out of slaveholding communities, call it by its *right name*, ROBBERY, and separate from its perpetrators accordingly, and slavery could not last five years. Thousands of slaveholders would be thrown into torment—the *worm that never dies* would be set at work in their bosoms—they would find it as uncomfortable to hold slave property, as to hold in their bare hands red hot iron. Is there not something we can do?

Let us notice two or three objections:

1. *Our agitation of this subject will only put back emancipation, and subject the slaves to more cruel treatment.* We take the objection in this form, because in this form it ofteneast meets us. But it is a *felo de se*—it cuts its own throat. If our agitation subjects the slave to *more cruel treatment*, it cannot put back emancipation, for the fact is a proof, that emancipation was everlastingly back already. On the other hand,

if there was at the South any sincere disposition to get rid of slavery, the agitation of the subject could not possibly put it back. A sincere disposition to do justice, strong enough to stand any chance of triumphing over the lust of power and pelf, could not be turned from its purpose by any expression of opinion or sympathy in favor of the slave, however imprudent it might be. Who ever heard of a man, penitent enough to make restitution for a life of plunder, being turned back to increased robbery, out of spite at an injudicious reprover? The objection is ridiculously absurd, and would not be advanced but in a miserably bad cause. Have the autocrats of history yielded free constitutions to their subjects unasked, in still and slavish times? Have they increased their own prerogatives, and doubled their chains, as they heard the distant murmur of popular agitation? Have they been most mild and complaisant and merciful, and most backward to use their extortionary arts, while there was no voice or press to reveal their deeds? Perhaps the objector has an edition of the book of human nature, in which it is written that power is the least abused where it has fewest checks; that tyrants will usurp least when left to themselves; that bad men will commit the fewest crimes when least suspected; and that thieves will steal least when least watched.

As we have read human nature, in the old received edition, it is always a safe thing to put men, who are trusted with power, upon their good behaviour, by a full exposure of their derelictions. We have never supposed that our public officers at Washington were made more corrupt, and driven to dive deeper in the pockets of the people, by the watchfulness and clamor of the opposition. And for the same reason, we cannot believe that the slaves are treated more harshly on account of the exposures made by the abolitionists. The slaveholders are disturbed because there is too much truth in these exposures,—will they therefore go right on to make them more true by still greater atrocities? Let it not be said, the slaves are so much stirred up by the measures of the abolitionists, that greater severity is necessary to retain them in bondage. This, alas, is not true! Would to God the slaves only knew what the thousands of abolitionists at the North are doing and feeling for their deliverance! But through the tyranny of their heaven-daring oppressors, probably not one in ten of them knows any thing of the matter,—none of them, any thing like the truth of it. If there is an increase of severity on account of our agitation, it must be perfectly gratuitous and spiteful.

But what if there is an increase of severity on account of our efforts

—does it follow that we do the slaves a wrong? Where is the man so dead to manhood that he will dare to stand up and say that death is not preferable to eternal *chattelity*? The men who talk of embittering the cup of the slave, know little of its bitterness. It is already the superlatively concentrated extract of *gall and wormwood*. The slaves, doubtless, might be worse abused as *brutes*; but as men, the last possible wrong was done them when they were turned into saleable commodities. It falls not much short of an insult to the majesty of the human soul—God's own image—to talk about making its condition worse, after it has passed under the auctioneer's hammer. In the name of outraged humanity, we say to the objector, especially if he be, as is often the case, a slaveholder, do your worst—make the slave's burden intolerable for a *brute*, and he shall the sooner be a man!

2. *The agitation of this subject will divide the churches, and destroy religion.*

True religion was never redundant in this world, and least of all can it be spared at the present time in our country. If the agitation of the slavery question does destroy religion where it exists, or prevents it from growing where it does not, there is proof conclusive that the agitation is not managed as it should be. "Pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father," says the Apostle James, "is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unpotted from the world." We know not where to look for a better definition. Nor can we see why caring and praying and acting for the slaves should hurt *such* religion. Is there any thing in being an abolitionist which necessarily prevents one from showing kindness to the "fatherless and widows," or which necessarily exposes one to the defilements of the "world?" On the other hand, how can one care as he should for the "fatherless and widows," and abhor and shun, as he should, the plague-spots of worldly policy, who does not plead for the rights of the slaves in their affliction—children by thousands made fatherless, and wives widows, by the auctioneer's hammer? We are not aware that abolitionists have been found particularly deficient in the Apostle James's sort of religion, and for our life we cannot see how their principles can possibly destroy such religion, or hinder the revival of it. And we are inclined to think the days, and places, and people, who are too holy for the inculcation of such a religion, are holy over much.

Again, it does not follow that the division of churches necessarily destroys religion. This is a strange doctrine to be held, in the abstract, by Protestants, or indeed by Catholics. Who came to make a

Is Freedom's home built only where
 The laborer wears an iron fetter?
 Are her's the sons that do not dare
 To teach or learn a printed letter?
 Are they her champions, whose swords
 Are pledged to aid the tyrant's halter?
 Who plead for wrong with pious words,
 Are they the priests at Freedom's altar?

The freest land beneath the sun—
 Is it where FEAR to labor urges?
 The happiest land—is it the one
 Where drip the slave-impelling scourges?
 And is the home of Liberty
 Where millions may not even hisp her
 Sweet name? or where the good and "free"
 Must speak of slavery in a whisper?

Then may our land in justice claim
 To be Dame Freedom's special dwelling—
 There, counting *lashes*, sits the dame,
 And here, the tyrants' *rotes* a-telling!
 "With *slavery*, oh! don't try to cope!"
 We're begg'd by sages who would warn one
 From dashing down "the world's last hope"—
 The last!—and truly a *foedorn* one!

We trow the world must hope in vain
 From men who make a constant barter
 Of human hopes,—who Freedom chain
 In spite of Freedom's broadest charter—
 From men, who, grasping after gain,
 Cry, "freemen, do not rashly meddle,
 Your abstract truth is truth insane—
 'Twill spoil our glorious chance to—peddle."

No! Freedom's home is only built
 Where men are as their Maker made men;
 Where punishment is saved for guilt,
 And crime is all that can degrade men:—
 That home be ours, though tyrants should,
 In madness, dare from us to sunder,
 We'll take our chances with the good,
 And let their throats and cannon thunder.

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[From the Friend of Man.]

NO PRINCIPLE AT STRIFE WITH PRINCIPLE;

OR, CIPHERS IN BATTLE ARRAY WITH WHOLE NUMBERS.

THE controversy which the claims of the American slave have produced among professed Christians at the North, we are well persuaded, must every day grow more earnest and determined. On the one hand those who give their sympathies to the oppressor, seem bent at all events to support his arrogant pretensions, and on shielding him from the infamy and execration which he has so long been courting, and which he is likely soon to win. On the other, the friends of the enslaved would as soon in any other way rush upon destruction, as in abandoning their suppliant brother to the "tender mercies" of his tormentors.

The assumption which is made, that this is a controversy among "*good men*," seems to hinder many from examining the ground on which it is maintained. The matter at issue, they imagine, cannot in any of its bearings be vital to the cause of truth and righteousness. It must, they suppose, be one of those questions, which from some unhappy accident, and not from their own intrinsic importance, have often agitated and rent the Christian Church—strangely arraying against each other, *brethren* of the same temper, spirit, and pursuits. They wonder why one disciple of Jesus Christ should quarrel with another about a trifle—a vexed question of doubtful import. That the question must be of doubtful import they infer from the character which they ascribe to the controvertists—the character of "*good men*." Such, they are sure, can never be involved in gross delusion and fatal error. Why, then, they are ready to inquire, cannot these "*good men*" just turn their thoughts away from these exciting topics, on which they cannot come to an agreement; and forgetting the wrongs of the oppressed, seek and find the luxury of mutual love in the embraces of fraternal concord?

Such speculatists; moreover, are apt to think that a question which so distracts the Church—which sets "*good men*" at variance with each

other, must be of a very delicate complexion, remarkable for its subtle bearings, and of difficult decision. They hesitate to enter into a controversy which, they think, must require more acuteness of perception, more comprehensiveness of views, more maturity of judgment, than they can ever command. They are afraid to involve themselves in a labyrinth. What if they should be unable, amidst its mazes, to thread their way to clear light and sound ground! And as they presume that either side and no side is *equally safe*, they keep themselves as stupidly indifferent as they can!

But to him who is thus "at ease in Zion," we must say, that with his eyes on those whom the claims of the slave have aroused to earnest controversy, he makes a *bold and unwarrantable assumption*, when he ascribes to them, irrespective of the ground they occupy, goodness of character. He is not entitled to the premises from which his self-indulgent conclusions proceed. A careful examination of the subject might force upon him the unwelcome apprehension, that the character of a multitude of his good men must be far more doubtful than the decision of the question from which he stands aloof. What makes him think that such can be good men as refuse to give the enslaved their sympathy and aid? Is he sure that they are better than was Saul of Tarsus before his heart was reached by the Saviour's power? Are they of respectable connexions and cultivated minds, occupying an elevated place in the religious world? That was *his* condition. Are they orthodox, enterprising, zealous? So was he. Are they remarkable for their religious activity—for their fervent attachment to the sect they support—for their expensive exertions to sustain divine institutions—for their missionary spirit? So was he. Not one among them all is a whit superior to him in any of these particulars. Nor is the complexion of their morality at all fairer than that of which he boasted. And must we not extend the parallel? Was he clannish in his attachments—fast bound in every limb by the cord of caste? So are they. Did he offer his sympathy and his services to a set of heartless tyrants, who in church and state were intent on crushing the poor beneath their iron hoofs? So do they. Was he driven, by a fierce and hot attachment to a sect, into warfare with human nature? So are they. Was he ready to sacrifice the rights of the poor on the altar of priestly arrogance and political domination? So are they. Was he busy in persecuting those philanthropists who gave themselves up to honest, generous, self-sacrificing exertions to purify, and elevate, and bless the human family, irrespective of constitutional peculiarities or

fictitious distinctions? So are they busy in the self-same employment—as eager, active, violent, as the powers they wield and their own views of expediency (the idol which they worship) will permit them to be. In what respect are their claims to goodness superior to his?

What is the ground of controversy between abolitionists and their opponents? What is the object of this earnest strife? We answer, *Fundamental principles in morality and religion are the sacred, the invaluable stake.* We have here a controversy between adherence to principle on the one hand, and a reckless disregard of principle on the other. The very vitals of Humanity are concerned in this strife. If the yoke of the enslaved is broken, Humanity will escape from the incubus by which she has been wellnigh suffocated—she will breathe freely again. If the pledged auxiliaries of the oppressor triumph, Humanity must bleed at every pore, and can escape from her insatiate foes only by some special intervention of Almighty Power.

Nothing can be more clearly revealed in the light of reason, than the principles which the abolitionists find laid at the basis of the enterprise to which the voice of God calls them to devote their powers.

1. *They feel impelled to regard every thing as it is—to treat every thing according to its nature.* Are they not as obviously bound, as resistlessly constrained, so to do, as to admit that the whole is greater than a part? To deny and reject such a principle, is to wage war upon their own nature—to stifle the voice of the Creator! Truth, under its simplest form—truth, by its highest authority—requires of them, in all things and everywhere, strongly to assert and strenuously to act upon this principle.

2. *To describe a man as a thing, and to dispose of him as “an article of merchandise,” must be a crime of the most malignant tendency.* Such an act involves monstrous falsehood. The “truth of God it changes into a lie.” Grosser and more glaring falsehood cannot be conceived of, than is condensed and embodied in the chattel principle. In the solemn forms of law, to style a man “an article of merchandise!” This he is not, cannot be. The very fundamental principle of American slavery, without which it would vanish like a ghost at daybreak, is itself, in its very nature, obviously and certainly a falsehood.

This principle is pregnant, moreover, with the most malignant tendencies. Admitted to the mind, it pollutes the soul with bloody thoughts. Reduced to practice, it is murder. We once heard of a wretch, who, meeting his enemy, lifted his poniard, and bade him

renounce Christ or die. Driven to desperation, his victim renounced the Saviour. Now, exclaimed the murderer, as he buried his steel in his neighbor's bosom, now I am well revenged. I have killed you, *soul and body!* This is the fell purpose, this the horrid tendency of the chattel principle! It forces its innocent, helpless, shrieking victim on to the very barrier, sacred as the throne of Heaven, which separates Humanity from the herd of beasts and the heap of things below, and remorselessly hurls him from the lofty battlements to be torn and broken by the ragged rocks which await his fall! Is it not murder to reduce a man to an article of merchandise? *Humanity is annihilated.* Spirit, soul, and body, are, by the transforming power of the chattel principle, wrought into a beast of burden or an implement of husbandry. *THE MAN* has vanished! Not a relic left! You have a *thing instead*, which, with your pigs and poultry, you may sell to the highest bidder! Where now is Abel our brother? *Alas, a victim he has fallen to the chattel principle!*

It is no alleviation of the crime of slavery, that it cannot effect its full designs. Were its power equal to its malignity, it would dissolve the universe. It would drag the Eternal from his throne, and drive him to the same auction where His children are exposed to sale. But the genius of slavery,—that lying spirit, which possesses so large a portion, priest and people, of our misguided and unhappy countrymen—we solemnly charge with the monstrous crime of wagging day and night the tongue of falsehood; and wielding, without weariness or intermission, the scythe of death.

3. *We maintain that it is equally obvious and certain, that continuance in sin cannot but aggravate our guilt and increase our danger.* If sin is to be regarded "as an evil and bitter thing," how can this doctrine be disputed? A single act in violation of the law of rectitude involves guilt and demands punishment. As sin is persisted in, such acts are multiplied. Their malignant tendencies and ill deserts are continually and at a frightful rate increased. Just apply this general doctrine to the enslaver. While he maintains to any human creature, the monstrous relation of an owner to a thing, every hour which is added to his life is an hour spent in adding crime to crime—in "filling up the measure" of his iniquity! To such an one, the doctrines of "gradualism" are the voice of the serpent. They encourage him to hold on for the present in rebellion against Heaven. They permit, nay, require him yet a little longer, to busy himself in "treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath!" He is, according to them, to prepare himself for

future duty by violating *present* obligations! Such doctrines, our regard for the oppressor as well as for the oppressed, leads us promptly and with deep abhorrence to reject. In popish indulgences, in their worst forms, we see nothing at all more revolting and mischievous.

4. *Under the government of God*, REPENTANCE, IMMEDIATE AND THOROUGH, cannot but be right; in its consequences it must be safe and happy. In rectitude, the throne of God finds its firm foundations. By this, the pillars of the universe are sustained. This is the principle of eternal harmony throughout the whole creation. By conforming to this, every creature, whoever and whatever he may be, finds his natural place and appropriate employment. Here, and only here, can he healthfully inspire the all-enlivening breath of Jehovah—can he be animated with that “*life*” with which God quickens his obedient subjects.

The relation of repentance to rectitude is direct and intimate. The sinner studies the law which he has dared to violate. His transgressions flash upon his face. He is aroused, alarmed, distressed. To simple rectitude, as the standard, to which his responsibilities refer him, he lifts his eye. With an honest reference to that standard, he begins immediately to act. He “breaks off his sins by righteousness and his iniquities by turning to the Lord.”—Such is the relation of repentance to rectitude.

What, then, can *they* mean, who venture to affirm, that under the government of God, the path of safety is not always coincident with the line of rectitude? Who allege, that in invading human rights, we may be reduced to such a plight as to be constrained by invincible necessity still longer to invade them? What is this, but, in the language of the apostate Hebrews, “*to be delivered* to do such abominations?” In what light, must *he* regard the government of God, who can admit the thought, that in his providence his subjects may be reduced to the necessity of “CONTINUING IN SIN!” If such be the government of God, how can any saint on earth or seraph in the skies, shout “*halleluia!* the Lord God omnipotent reigneth?”

We do not forget, that on the line of rectitude the dungeon sometimes is built and the stake erected. There murderers, with their bloodhounds in the form of mobs sometimes take their stand, to oppose the progress of the righteous. So it was when the army of martyrs maintained, at the expense of their lives, the battles of their Lord. They welcomed the flames of persecution with the inspiring appeal upon their lips; “*whether it be right in the sight of God to obey you, rather than God, judge ye.*” But was not their course as safe and happy

at its results, as it was coincident with rectitude? Was it not well for them—well for the human family, that they “resisted even unto blood” those who would have driven them aside from their shining track?

Envion the slaveholder with whatever difficulties his most ingenious apologist can invent; still, he is bound by the most sacred obligation to restore without delay to his injured brother his violated rights. Better die a thousand deaths than lend his countenance for a single hour to the system of American oppression. Sin is the most deadly foe to human peace. Unarmed by this “sting,” even “death” is harmless. And slavery under every form, and in all circumstances, is rebellion against Heaven.

5. *Our relations to the oppressor on the one hand, and to the oppressed on the other, lay us under sacred obligations to reprove the one and plead for the other.* Can we, while we “suffer sin upon him,” “love our neighbor as we love ourselves?” Especially, when he is exposed, by night and by day, at home and abroad, to those “evil communications which corrupt good manners!” Especially, when from the dawn of his existence he has been constantly exposed to the biases of selfishness and the impulses of passion! Especially, when soothed and encouraged by foes in the guise of friends, he is hastening with rapid step down the “broad road to destruction!” Placed at an elevation, where we cannot but see the direction of his “slippery” path—where the gulph, which awaits his fall, yawns frightfully upon us, how can we refuse to pour upon his ears the loud note of warning? Shall we be discouraged by his stupidity, or deterred by his wrath? Our regard for his highest interests forbid. Truth, fidelity, benevolence, forbid. All things good, true, and holy on earth and in heaven;—the authority of God and the welfare of man, forbid. Let those, who dare, from a short-sighted regard to their own ease, or reputation, or interest, consult his humor, gratify his spleen, cater for his lusts; it is ours, “by all means to rebuke him,” if, peradventure the long-suffering and gracious God will enable us to pluck him from ruin, as a brand is snatched from the burning.

To refuse to plead for the oppressed is most wickedly to forget, that in him we behold a MAN, and have a BROTHER. The moment we, according to the golden rule, change places with him; taking his burdens on our shoulders, and his fetters on our heels, that moment our lips will be opened in vindication of his rights. O with what imploring importunity do not millions of dumb sufferers—our own mother’s children—summon us to their assistance! Grosser selfishness we cannot

guilty of, than to resist such appeals out of complaisance to their oppressor, or from such patriotism, pitiful and meagre, as would purchase for our country present ease at the expense of future agony, or from such pity as in full view of crushed humanity, bleeding by the way, would pass by on the other side!

These are the principles which lie at the very basis of the anti-slavery enterprise. In the light of these, the friends of freedom feel impelled at every step in their arduous course to proceed. But at every step we are called to encounter suspicion, reproach, opposition; and from those, too, whose holy profession and sacred obligations should place them by our side, as hearty, active, faithful coadjutors.

Have our opponents, then, a set of principles *contrary to ours*, which impel them to meet us in a posture of resistance? What; *do they believe that things are to be regarded as they are not—to be treated contrary to their nature—that men may be reduced to articles of merchandise? Or, that if it be wicked to establish among men the relation of owner and property, that continuance in sin may involve neither guilt nor danger? that repentance may be so immediate and thorough as to be inexpedient and hurtful? that in perfect consistency with our relations to the oppressor and oppressed, we may suffer sin upon the one without rebuke, and misery upon the other without sympathy or succor? Can human nature be reduced to such a plight, as, when presented in their proper shape, to admit such monstrous doctrines?*

But, instead of defending principles like these when stated with definiteness and precision, our opponents very generally acknowledge, that ours, *in themselves considered*, are sound and true—principles to which in the light of reason, they feel constrained to give their assent. What have we here? The principles admitted, in the light of which we clearly and certainly see the objects we are bound to pursue, and the pathway by which alone we can hope to reach and appropriate them;—principles, which have a direct application to the most stupendous and sublime practical designs, and the most powerful bearings upon them;—principles, which, like the living voice of God, are adapted to arouse and develope and enlist all the energies of our nature;—*these principles*, admitted by multitudes in high places, in church and state, who not only refuse to make any correspondent efforts, but decry, and malign, and persecute those around them who dare to “show their faith by their works!” Hence the strife, which is agitating churches and shaking the republic from centre to circumference. Our opponents insist upon it, that we shall make as little of our principles as

they make of theirs—allowing them to float as glittering abstractions on the brain, but carefully excluding their influence from the heart! To this we cannot consent. Hence the quarrel.

In what sort of strife, then, are we called to mingle? Clearly a **STRIFE BETWEEN PRINCIPLE ON THE ONE HAND, AND NO PRINCIPLE ON THE OTHER.** Our adversaries reproach and oppose us, merely because we act on those principles, which even they admit to be sound and trustworthy! We cannot unite with them, unless we will consent to be **UNPRINCIPLED!** For, who can be more unprincipled than he, who permits fundamental truths in morals and religion to lie dormant in the brain.

But the relation, we are told, between abstract principles and human obligation, in the practical concerns of life, is at best remote, if not extremely doubtful. We may wield metaphysics ingeniously; but we cannot expect that sober thinkers, who have never been schooled in Utopia, will be led away by the hair we have so accurately divided. Such miserable cant is worthy of the shallow sophistry, which it is employed to clothe and present. The principles of reason little to do with human obligation! Their relation to the various forms of human life remote and uncertain! No man, who had not “fallen out” with reason, could, for a moment, harbor such a prejudice. What do our opponents mean? It is true, that we never see abstract principles embodied in full perfection, in the conduct of mankind. What then? Are we not furnished in these principles with the model on which we are most diligently and earnestly to form our character? And does not the measure of our excellence depend wholly on the degree of our success? If we refuse to make these principles the standard of our conduct, where shall we find “a guide to lead us along the rugged path to the summit of mount ‘Difficulty?’” The moment your matter-of-fact man, as he is falsely called, rejects these principles in the practical concerns of life, he cuts loose from the throne of Heaven! He has nothing to hold him back from the depths of depravity and the bottom of perdition!

What have we, we demand, in the character of Jesus Christ? The perfection of reason. In Him, all those principles which we perceive by the light within; to which our very nature commands our assent, were embodied and developed in full maturity. In Him they shone forth in the perfection of the most exquisite and subduing beauty. **AND HE IS OUR EXEMPLAR.** If we have any virtue, it must consist in a resemblance to our Saviour. Will this doctrine be denied? Surely

not. The relation, then, between abstract principle and human obligation is most intimate and practical. The one is the standard to which the other is most solicitously to be adjusted.

But are we, the demand is urged upon us;—are we, in acting on principle to bid adieu to *common sense*? What in any such connexion may be meant by “common sense,” we are sure, we cannot conjecture. We are acquainted with a clergyman, who not long ago assured the people of his charge, that as a public teacher, he had done with the subject of slavery! We ventured, in a private interview, to inquire of him, how a preacher could, in an American pulpit, dispose of such passages as continually met his eye on the sacred pages, without opening his lips for the victims of oppression? Our meaning we illustrated by repeating such declarations and injunctions as the following: “whoso stoppeth his ears to the cry of the poor, shall cry himself and shall not be heard. Rid the poor and needy out of the hands of the wicked. Thou shalt not suffer sin upon thy brother; thou shalt in *any wise* rebuke him.” This inquiry he disposed of with the oracular reply, that *the Bible is a common sense book*! He might as well have solved the problem which had been urged on his attention, by quoting “*Adam, Seth, Enos*,” from the Chronicles?

In the light of their own *conduct*, we might perhaps guess at the meaning of such prophets. We should guess, that by “common sense,” they meant that vulgar *cunning*, which may enable one so to turn and twist, so to lengthen and abridge his principles, as artfully to dodge the shafts of persecution. To refuse, when brought to some trying crisis, to purchase the favor of selfish men by silence or compromise, they regard as evincing the want of “*common sense*!” Such common sense can be had, let it be remembered, only at the expense of *common honesty*. Miserable trash! cheap and worthless as dunghill weeds! Selfishness is the soil on which it springs up spontaneously. There, a rank harvest may be gathered. The “hireling,” exposed by our Saviour, who “saw the wolf coming,” was remarkable for “common sense,” such as it was! If he could not maintain the cause of the sheep, without encountering such a *chivalrous* adventurer, whose business it was, like many of his two-legged brethren in modern times, “to steal, and kill, and destroy,” why he would show his *wisdom*, by fleeing away in silence. From such “common sense,” good Lord deliver us!

“But the difficulties, the difficulties, the difficulties!” “We would unite with you, abolitionists, in acting upon your principles, if we were

not deterred by the difficulties. Southern laws! Southern threatenings! Southern violence!" Yes, Rev. Dr. Fearful; and you might add, *Northern* laws! *Northern* threatenings! *Northern* violence! For the main pillars which prop up the old Bastille have their foundation at the North! But in what chapter of your Bible are you taught, that honest men may be deterred by any difficulties, however numerous and formidable, from "acting out" their principles? In this connexion, "They who live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution?" or in that, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven?" Or did you infer such a doctrine from the history of those "despised" ones who were subject to "hunger and thirst;" who were, "naked and buffeted;" having "no certain dwelling place;" who were "made as the filth of the world and the off-scouring of all things?" If no difficulties were to be encountered in our way to the kingdom of heaven, what need of "agonizing?" and how could we fill up the measure of His sufferings, who was murdered by the world we are exhorted to court and caress? In behalf of the glorious army of martyrs, you may hear the persecuted Bunyan shout from his prison walls, "*No cross, no crown!*" But are there on the other side no difficulties to be encountered? Find you no difficulties in leaving your suppliant brother in the hands of his oppressor? No difficulties in witnessing the insults and injuries to which he is continually subjected? No difficulties in seeing the rapid strides of slavery towards the North? No difficulties in the prospect of a servile war, which must convulse and rend this guilty nation? No difficulties in the deep disgrace, the intolerable infamy, which is fast settling on our public character? No difficulties in your own case, in the loss of a good conscience? None in the frowns of the orphan's Protector? *We have sinned.* As a nation, we are stoutly guilty of crimes in the matter of slaveholding, whose enormity is only equalled by the depths of meanness to which we have descended. And can we escape from the embarrassments in which we have involved ourselves, without encountering difficulties? Headlong have we plunged into the "miry clay;" and do we expect to reach a sound position, without exhausting efforts? With such expectations we may refuse to exert ourselves, and sink into the depths of the abyss.

We are sometimes charged with cherishing a stiff, unyielding spirit. And our way, it is alleged, we *will have*, without accommodating ourselves at all to the opinions, wishes, and movements, of those who differ from us, however great and good they may generally be esteemed;

whereas, many who condemn our measures, are ready, for the sake of peace, *provided we will do the same*, to keep silence on the exciting subject of oppression. As we cannot agree in adjusting his claims, they are willing to leave the slave where we found him—in the hands of thieves and murderers. Hence, their reputation for comity and kindness and peacemaking! But what sort of a basis have they for this reputation in such overtures? What have we here? On the one side, the apologists of slavery consenting, without further effort, to leave “the poor and needy” in the hands “of the wicked,” provided only that we also will “stop our ears” to their entreaties! Wonderful forbearance! what self-denial for the sake of peace! On the other hand, the hearty friends and pledged advocates of the oppressed, promptly and sternly refusing to violate their principles, and sacrifice their consciences, and sell their brethren, to purchase the deceitful smiles of the hollow-hearted! How quarrelsome! What firebrands! Well; there are terms on which we will cease to urge those arguments and employ those efforts, which now excite and disturb our peace-loving neighbors.—Just bless our eyes with the fragments of “every yoke” which now galls the neck of the oppressed—just let us see every man admitted to the full enjoyment of all his “inalienable rights,” “honored” AS A MAN, according to the value of his nature and the worth of his character—and the quarrel between us and our opponents is over at once and for ever. We love peace as dearly, we prize peace as highly, as our neighbors. But, then, it must be peace supported by principle, and approved by conscience;—spreading its balmy wing over the whole of human nature. Our Bibles teach us that wickedness is malignantly and powerfully anti-social, in all its influences and tendencies.

We must be as stupid, not to understand the conditions on which reconciliation is offered by our adversaries, as we should be wicked, if we could accept of them. They will cease to decry and reproach and resist us, when we will cease to honor the most sacred principles by correspondent action. Till then, never. Till, in other words, we will consent to become UNPRINCIPLED, they are resolved that we shall sustain the shock of that war which they are waging to promote the cause of charity and forbearance and fraternal unity. We may as well count the cost at which we may purchase peace of our civil and ecclesiastical persecutors. In *their* view, the consideration is but trifling; what they have thrown away among worthless rubbish. With us, it is as dear as the smiles of God and the hope of heaven. IT IS

THE SACRIFICE OF PRINCIPLE. Say, friend of man, can you pay the price? Welcome, then, whatever may befall you in pleading the cause of your stolen brother.

Let us lift up our eyes to heaven. Let us seek refreshment in the shadow of the eternal throne. Ours is the God who has pledged all the resources of his government and all the treasures of the universe to sustain, in full expression and resistless force, the principles he has impressed upon our hearts and imprinted in his word. While we adhere to these principles, he will cheer us with his smiles and support us with his arm. The issue of our controversy with those who have conspired to rob the poor and helpless, cannot be doubtful. Truth must prevail. Righteousness must triumph. The poor shall be raised from the "dunghill" to the side of princes. Happy, thrice happy they, who shall be counted worthy to share the triumphs of that glorious hour.

SLAVERY WARRING AGAINST PRINCIPLE.—Last year a public meeting, held at Clinton, state of Mississippi, to consider the subject of abolitionism, passed the following resolution.

"Resolved, That it is our decided opinion, that any individual who dares to circulate, with a view to effectuate the designs of the abolitionists, any of the incendiary tracts or newspapers now in a course of transmission to this country, is justly worthy in the sight of God and man, of IMMEDIATE DEATH; and we doubt not that such *would be the punishment* of any such offender in any part of the state of Mississippi, where he may be found!"

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA.

"At present, the number of students is TWENTY, of whom THIRTEEN are natives of South Carolina and Georgia, FIVE natives of the northern states, ONE of the western states, and ONE of Canada.

"Of the SEVEN last mentioned, only ONE came to this Institution from the North. But *he was not sent here by Abolitionists*; for he is not only opposed to them in principle and favorable to southern institutions, but he is preparing to leave all he holds dear in this land, that he may spend his days on heathen shores. With regard to the rest, they came to us from the bosoms of southern families, from southern academies and colleges, from communities violently opposed to the schemes of abolitionists, and they came recommended either by southern *Presbyteries* or southern men. They have never been charged with entertaining sentiments favorable to abolition, and inimical to the South. They now authorize us 'TO CONTRADICT ALL THE STATEMENTS which have been made against them; and further say, that they consider their present residence here, together with their former residence (in most instances for several years) in this and other parts of the South, a sufficient evidence of their friendly regard to southern institutions.'"—*Southern Christian Herald*.

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SLAVE LAWS.

Extracted chiefly from Stroud's "Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the United States of America."

WHO MAY BE HELD AS SLAVES.

The law of South Carolina, to which those of all the slave states are similar, is as follows:—

"All negroes, *Indians*, (free Indians in amity with this government, and negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, who are *now* free, excepted,) mulattoes or mestizoes, who now are or shall hereafter be in this province, and all their issue and offspring born or to be born, shall be and they are hereby declared to be and remain for ever hereafter absolute slaves, and shall follow the condition of the mother." *Act of 1740* 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229.

Descendants of Indians, as well as of Africans are probably involved in the doom of slavery in all the slave states. In Virginia the enslavement of Indians was authorized by statute from 1679 to 1691. Those whose maternal ancestors have been reduced to slavery since the latter period, have been decided by the highest courts in that state to be free. So late as 1797, it was decided by the Supreme Court of *New Jersey*, Chief Justice Kinsey, that Indians might be held as slaves.

"They (Indians) have been so long recognized as slaves, in our law, that it would be as great a violation of the rights of property to establish a contrary doctrine at the present day, as it would in the case of Africans; and as useless to investigate the manner in which they originally lost their freedom." *The State vs. Waggoner*, 1 *Holstead's Reports*, 374 to 376.

Persons emancipated, but not in the prescribed form of law, are liable to be re-enslaved, thus in South Carolina,

"In case any slave shall be emancipated or set free, otherwise than according to the act (of 1800) regulating emancipation, it shall be lawful for any person whosoever to seize and convert to his or her own use, and to keep as his or her property the said slave so illegally emancipated or set free." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 256.

And in Virginia, "If any emancipated slave (infants excepted) shall remain within the state more than twelve months after his or her right to freedom shall have accrued, he or she shall forfeit all such right, and may be apprehended and sold by the overseers of the poor, &c. for the benefit of THE LITERARY FUND!" 1 *Rev. Code*, 436.

THE POWER GRANTED BY LAW TO THE MASTER.

According to the law of Louisiana, "A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labour; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but what must belong to his master." *Civil Code. art. 35.*

In South Carolina it is expressed in the following language: "Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and judged in law to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229.

In Louisiana, "Slaves though moveable by their nature," says the civil code, "are considered as immoveable by the operation of the law." *Art. 461.* And by act of Assembly of June 7, 1806, "Slaves shall always be reputed and considered *real estate*; shall be, as such, subject to be mortgaged, according to the rules prescribed by law, and they shall be seized and sold as *real estate*." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 612. And in Kentucky, by the law of *descents*, they are considered *real estate*, 2 *Liitt. and Swi. Digest*, 1155, and pass in consequence to *heirs* and not to executors. They are, however, liable as *chattels* to be sold by the master at his pleasure, and may be taken in execution in payment of his debts. *Ibid. and see* 1247.

RESTRICTIONS OF THE MASTER'S POWER.

So far as the law restricts the master's power at all, it only shows how shamefully and cruelly that power is abused—perhaps we should say *used*, for the very possession of it is an abuse. The very limitations leave the power of the master far beyond mercy. And so far as they go, they are but a mockery, by reason that the testimony of a colored man cannot be taken against a white one. In regard to the TIME OF LABOR, we find the following law in South Carolina:

"Whereas many owners of slaves, and others who have the care, management and overseeing of slaves, do confine them so closely to hard labor, that they have not sufficient time for natural rest: Be it therefore enacted, That if any owner of slaves, or other person who shall have the care, management, or overseeing of any slaves, shall work or put any such slave or slaves to labour more than fifteen hours in twenty-four hours, from the twenty-fifth day of March to the twenty-fifth day of September; or more than fourteen hours in twenty-four hours, from the twenty-fifth day of September to the twenty-fifth day of March, every such person shall forfeit any sum not exceeding twenty pounds, nor under five pounds, current money, for every time he, she or they shall offend herein, at the discretion of the justice before whom the complaint shall be made." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 243.

In Louisiana, the subjoined act was passed, July 7, 1806. "As for the hours of work and rest, which are to be assigned to slaves in summer and winter, the old usages of the territory shall be adhered to, to wit: The slaves shall be allowed half an hour for breakfast during the

whole year ; from the first day of May to the first day of November, they shall be allowed two hours for dinner ; and from the first day of November to the first day of May, one hour and a half for dinner : Provided, however, That the owners who will themselves take the trouble of causing to be prepared the meals of their slaves, be, and they are hereby authorized to abridge, by half an hour per day, the time fixed for their rest." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 610—12.

Judge Stroud quotes the statutes of five legislatures by which ten hours out of the twenty-four is the longest space for labor which can be demanded of convicted felons, sentenced to HARD LABOR.

Some of the states oblige the master to furnish his slaves a certain amount of PROVISIONS.

Thus in Louisiana, "Every owner shall be held to give to his slaves the quantity of provisions hereafter specified, to wit ; *one barrel of Indian corn*, or the equivalent thereof in rice, beans or other grain, and a pint of salt, and to deliver the same to the said slaves in kind *every month*, and never in money, under a penalty of a fine of ten dollars for every offence." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 610, *act of July 7, 1806*. In North Carolina, a much less quantity of the same kind of food is deemed sufficient, as is implied from the following curious section of an act passed in 1753, and which is still in force. "In case any slave or slaves, who shall not appear to have been clothed and fed according to the intent and meaning of this act, that is to say, to have been sufficiently clothed, and to have constantly received for the preceding year an allowance not less than a *quart of corn per day*, shall be convicted of stealing any corn, cattle, &c. &c. from any person not the owner of such slave or slaves, such injured person shall and may maintain an action of trespass against the master, owner or possessor of such slave, &c. and shall recover his or her damages, &c." *Haywood's Manual*, 524—5.

The allowance of CLOTHING in Louisiana, seems to have been graduated by the same standard by which the quantity of food was determined in North Carolina. "The slave who shall not have on the property of their owners a lot of ground to cultivate on their own account, shall be entitled to receive from said owner *one linen shirt and pantaloons (une chemise et une culotte de toile)* for the summer, and a linen shirt and woollen great coat and pantaloons for the winter." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 610.

The other states do not pretend to fix the kind and quantity of food and clothing which the slave shall receive, but some of them have enacted safeguards against the stinginess of the master which are not only perfectly nugatory, but seem to have been designed to be so. See Stroud, p. 32.

THE POWER TO PUNISH,

Is thus restricted by the law of North Carolina :

Section 3, of the act passed in 1798, runs thus : "Whereas by another act of the assembly, passed in the year 1774, the killing of a slave, however wanton, cruel and deliberate, is only punishable in the

first instance by imprisonment and paying the value thereof to the owner, which distinction of criminality between the murder of a white person and one who is equally a human creature, but merely of a different complexion, is DISGRACEFUL TO HUMANITY, AND DEGRADING IN THE HIGHEST DEGREE TO THE LAWS AND PRINCIPLES OF A FREE, CHRISTIAN AND ENLIGHTENED COUNTRY, Be it enacted, &c. That if any person shall hereafter be guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave, such offender shall, upon the first conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of murder, and shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a free man; *Provided always, this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of assembly of this state, or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, or to any SLAVE DYING UNDER MODERATE CORRECTION.*" *Haywood's Manual*, 530; and see *Laws of Tennessee*, act of Oct. 23, 1799, with a like proviso.

The Constitution of Georgia has the following: Art. 4, § 12.

"Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection of such slave, and unless SUCH DEATH SHOULD HAPPEN BY ACCIDENT IN GIVING SUCH SLAVE MODERATE CORRECTION." *Prince's Digest*, 559.

Judge Stroud remarks, "that a proclamation of *outlawry* against a slave is authorized, whenever he runs away from his master, conceals himself in some obscure retreat, and, to sustain life, kills a hog, or some animal of the cattle kind!" See *Haywood's Manual*, 521; act of 1741, ch. 24, § 45.

In South Carolina by the Act of 1740 the "wilful murder" of a slave was punished by a fine of "seven hundred pounds, current money" and inability to hold office, but another description of murder, more likely to occur, was punished as follows:—

"If any person shall, on a sudden heat or passion, or by *undue correction*, kill his own slave, or the slave of any other person, he shall forfeit the sum of *three hundred and fifty pounds*, current money." *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

By an act of 1821, the former provision was abolished but the latter was continued, diminishing the price to five hundred dollars, and authorizing an imprisonment of six months. *James' Digest*, 392.

The following *protection* for the limbs of the slave has been in force, in South Carolina from 1740 to the present time:

"In case any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, or shall inflict any other *cruel punishment, other than by whipping or beating with a horsewhip, cowskin, switch or small stick, or by pulling irons on, or confining or imprisoning such slave*, every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

But the legislatures do not occupy themselves altogether in protecting the slave and restraining the master. Louisiana imposes a heavier penalty for *taking off irons* than she does for the "*cruel punishments*," specified above, as appears from this:

"If any person or persons, &c. shall cut or break any iron chain or collar, which any master of slaves should have used in order to prevent the running away or escape of any such slave or slaves, such person or persons so offending shall, on conviction, &c. be fined not less than two hundred dollars, nor exceeding one thousand dollars; and suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than six months." *Act of Assembly, of March 6, 1819—pamphlet, page 64.*

Now in the same state, the law before quoted from South Carolina is in force and the penalty is a fine of *not more than five hundred dollars, nor less than two hundred!*

In Missouri, the master is assisted in punishing as follows:—

"If any slave resist his or her master, mistress, overseer or employer, or *refuse* to obey his or her lawful commands, it shall be lawful for such master, &c. to commit such slave to the common gaol of the county, there to remain *at the pleasure* of the master, &c.; and the sheriff shall receive such slave, and keep him, &c. in confinement, at the expense of the person committing him or her." *1 Missouri Laws 309.*

POWER OF THE MASTER EXERCISED BY OTHERS.

According to the universal practice of the slave states, the master may delegate his tremendous power to any other person whom he pleases. Louisiana has the following express law:

"The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master, and to all who *represent* him, is not susceptible of any modification or restriction, (except in what can incite the slave to the commission of crime,) in such manner, that he owes to his master and to all his family a respect without bounds and an absolute obedience, and he is consequently to execute all the orders which he receives from him, his said master, or from them." *1 Martin's Digest, §16.*

SLAVES CANNOT HOLD PROPERTY.

Thus in *South Carolina*: "It shall not be lawful for any slave to buy, sell, trade, &c. for any goods, &c. without a license from the owner, &c. nor shall any slave be permitted to keep any boat, periauger or canoe, or raise and breed, for the benefit of such slave, any horses, mares, cattle, sheep or hogs, under pain of forfeiting all the goods, &c. and all the boats, periaugers, or canoes, horses, mares, cattle, sheep, or hogs. And it shall be lawful for any person whatsoever, to seize and take away from any slave, all such goods, &c. boats, &c. &c. and to deliver the same into the hands of any justice of the peace, nearest to the place, where the seizure shall be made, and such justice shall take the oath of the person making such seizure, concerning the manner thereof; and if the said justice shall be satisfied that such seizure has

been made according to law, he shall pronounce and declare the goods so seized, to be forfeited, and order the same to be sold at public outcry, one half of the moneys arising from such sale to go to the state, and the other half to him or them that sue for the same," *James' Digest*, 385-6. *Act of 1740*.

In Georgia, to prevent the master from permitting the slave to hire himself for his own benefit, there is a penalty of thirty dollars "for every weekly offence, on the part of the master, unless the labor be done on his own premises." *Prince's Digest*, 457. In Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and Missouri, there are similar laws.

As early as the year 1779, North Carolina interposed as follows: "*All horses, cattle, hogs or sheep, that one month after the passing of this act, shall belong to any slave or be of any slave's mark, in this state, shall be seized and sold by the County Wardens, and by them applied, the one-half to the support of the poor of the county, and the other half to the informer.*" *Haywood's Manual*, 526.

In Mississippi, the master incurs a fine of fifty dollars by permitting the slave to cultivate cotton for his own use. *Rev. Code*, 379; also fifty dollars for permitting the slave to go at large and trade as a freeman *Rev. Code*, 374.

The civil code of Louisiana lays down the following principles:

"*All that a slave possesses belongs to his master,—he possesses nothing of his own, except his peculium, that is to say, the sum of money or moveable estate, which his master chooses he should possess.*" *Art. 175*, and see 1 *Martin's Digest*, 616. "Slaves are incapable of inheriting or transmitting property." *Civil Code*, art. 945.

SEPARATION OF FAMILIES.

In Louisiana there is a law against selling infirm parents apart from their children, without their consent, but there is none against selling the children apart from the parents, nor is there known to be in any of the other slave states, any legal restraints whatever, in regard to the separation of families by purchase and sale.

THE SLAVE, AS A MAN, IS NOT UNDER THE PROTECTION OF LAW.

He cannot bring a suit against his master or any other person for an injury. His master may bring an action against a third person for an injury of his property. But this is a poor protection of the slave, for, first, it weakens the motive of the master to protect the slave. If the injury were to come upon his own pocket he would be more careful to prevent it. Secondly, the master can recover nothing, unless the injury deteriorates the value—which it may not do, although in itself very great. The Supreme Court of Maryland has decided:

"There must be, a loss of service, or at least, a diminution of the faculty of the slave for bodily labor, to warrant an action by the master." 1 *Harris and Johnson's Reports*, 4. *Cornfute vs. Dale*.

THE SLAVE HAS NO MARRIAGE RIGHTS.

This follows, of course, from his being a "chattel." The following is, unquestionably, law and fact throughout the slave states.

"A slave has never maintained an action against the violator of his bed. A slave is not admonished for incontinence, or punished for fornication or adultery; never prosecuted for bigamy, or petty treason for killing a husband being a slave, any more than admitted to an appeal for murder." *Opinion of Daniel Dulany, Esq. Attorney General of Maryland*, 1 *Maryland Reports*, 561, 563.

A COLORED PERSON CANNOT BE A WITNESS AGAINST A WHITE PERSON, EITHER IN A CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CAUSE.

This principle renders whatever statutes may be framed in favor of the slave, perfectly nominal and nugatory. The master or any white man has only to remove white witnesses and he may perpetrate what cruelties upon slaves he pleases. In the ordinary driving of the cane and cotton fields there is but one white man present. In some of the slave states this principle is established by custom. In Virginia, and some other of the slave states, and in one of the *free*, there is the following law:

"Any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall be a good witness in pleas of the commonwealth for or against negroes or mulattoes, bond or free, or in civil pleas where free negroes or mulattoes shall alone be parties, and in no other cases whatever." 1 *R. F. C.* 422. Similar in Missouri, 2 *Missouri Laws*, 600. In Mississippi, *Mississippi Rev. Code*, 372. In Kentucky, 2 *Litt. & Swi.* 1150. In Alabama, *Toulmin's Digest*, 627. In Maryland, *Maryland, Laws, act of 1717*, ch. 13, § 2, & 3, and an act of 1751, ch. 14, § 4. In North Carolina and Tennessee, act of 1777, ch. 2, § 42. And in OHIO, act of Assembly, of January 25, 1807.

THE BURDEN OF PROOF THROWN UPON THE COLORED MAN.

A white man may enslave any colored one, and, as between himself and the slave, the law does not require him to establish his claim. The slave is compelled to remain so, if he cannot *prove his freedom*. The South Carolina Act of 1740, permits persons held as slaves and claiming to be free, to petition the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, who if they see cause may allow a *guardian* to bring an action for freedom against the master. The sequel of this law shows how poor is the encouragement for both the suitor and his guardian.

"And if judgment shall be given for the plaintiff, a special entry shall

be made, declaring, that the ward of the plaintiff is free, and the jury shall assess damages which the plaintiff's ward hath sustained, and the court shall give judgment and award execution against the defendant for such damages, with full costs of suit; *but in case judgment shall be given for the defendant, the said court is hereby fully empowered to inflict SUCH CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, NOT EXTENDING TO LIFE OR LIMB, on the ward of the plaintiff, as they in their discretion shall think fit.* Provided, that in any action or suit to be brought in pursuance of the direction of this act, *THE BURDEN OF THE PROOF shall lay upon the plaintiff, and it shall be always presumed that every negro, Indian, mulatto and mestizo, is a slave, unless the contrary be made to appear,* (the Indians in amity with this government excepted, in which case, the burden of the proof shall be on the defendant.") 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229-30.

Virginia shows her hostility to the claim for freedom by the following provision of her Revised Code:

"For *aiding and abetting* a slave in a trial for freedom, if the claimant shall fail in his suit, a fine of one hundred dollars is imposed. 1 *Rev. Code*, 482.

The only known exception to this principle of throwing the *burden of proof* upon the person claimed as a slave, is in North Carolina, where persons of mixed blood, by a decision of the court are presumed to be free. Were this doctrine reversed, and the *presumption* to be in favor of liberty, thousands would be free at once.

By this cruel presumption, free persons are constantly taken up on suspicion of being runaways, and after being in prison for some months, are sold to pay their **JAIL FEES**.

PROHIBITION OF MENTAL INSTRUCTION.

South Carolina may lay claim to the earliest movement in legislation on this subject. In 1740, while yet a province, she enacted this law: "Whereas the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with great inconveniences, Be it enacted, That all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 243; similar in Georgia, by act of 1770, except as to the penalty, which is twenty pounds sterling. *Prince's Digest*, 455.

In the same state the following additional restraints were enacted in 1800:

"That assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, whether composed of all or any of such description of persons, or of all or any of the same and of a proportion of white persons, met together for the purpose of mental instruction in a confined or secret

place, &c. &c., is (are) declared to be an unlawful meeting, and magistrates, &c. &c., are hereby required, &c. to enter into such confined places, &c. &c., to break doors, &c. if resisted, and to disperse such slaves, free negroes, &c. &c., and the officers dispersing such unlawful assemblage, may inflict such corporal punishment, not exceeding twenty lashes; upon such slaves, free negroes, &c. as they may judge necessary, for DETERING THEM FROM THE LIKE UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLAGE IN FUTURE." *Brevard's Digest*, 254. And another section of the same act declares, "That it shall not be lawful for any number of free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, even of slaves in company with white persons, to meet together for the purpose of mental instruction, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 254-5.

Virginia passed the following in 1819:

"That all meetings or assemblages of slaves or free negroes or mulattoes mixing and associating with such slaves at any meeting house, or houses, or any other place, &c. in the night, or at any school or schools for teaching them reading or writing either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an unlawful assembly; and any justice of a county, &c. wherein such assemblage shall be, either from his own knowledge or the information of others, of such unlawful assemblage, &c. may issue his warrant directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblages, &c. may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such slaves, and to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, not exceeding twenty lashes." 1 *Rev. Code*, 424-5.

Similar laws exist in most of the slave states, and in all, mental instruction is practically discouraged.

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

The southern statute books are full of laws against the assembling of slaves for religious worship, excepting under the most difficult and inquisitorial restrictions. The South Carolina Act of 1800 has the following:—

"It shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, even in company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or religious worship, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same. And all magistrates, sheriffs, militia officers, &c. &c. are hereby vested with power, &c. for dispersing such assemblies," &c., 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 254-5.

THE SLAVE IS OBLIGED TO SURRENDER HIS RIGHTS TO OTHER WHITE PERSONS AS WELL AS HIS MASTER.

Georgia has the following:—

"If any slave shall presume to strike any white person, such slave

upon trial and conviction before the justice or justices, according to the directions of this act, shall for the first offence, suffer such punishment as the said justice or justices shall, in his or their discretion think fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the second offence, suffer DEATH."

The law is similar in South Carolina; in both states the slave is not punished, however, when he strikes "by the command, and in the defence of the person or property of the owner, &c."

The Code of Louisiana gravely lays down the following principle:

"Free people of colour ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but on the contrary, they ought to yield to them on every occasion, and never speak or answer them, but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 640-42.

The following are specimens of the laws by which the whole white community have made themselves tyrants over the slaves:

"If any slave shall happen to be slain for refusing to surrender him or herself, contrary to law, or in unlawful resisting any officer or other person, who shall apprehend or endeavour to apprehend, such slave or slaves, &c., such officer or other person so killing such slave as aforesaid, making resistance, shall be, and he is by this act, indemnified from any prosecution for such killing aforesaid, &c." *Maryland Laws, act of 1751, chap. xiv. § 9.*

And by the negro act of 1740, of South Carolina, it is declared, "If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slave shall live, or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slave, shall refuse to submit to undergo the examination of any white person, it shall be lawful for such white person to pursue, apprehend and moderately correct such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be lawfully killed!" 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 231.

THE PENAL CODES of the slaveholding states, bear much more severely upon the slaves than upon the whites. See *Stroud*, pp. 99-119.

RESTRAINTS UPON EMANCIPATION.

These exist in almost all the slave states, and in some, certainly interfere with the master's right of property in the slave. In South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, emancipation can take place only by special act of the legislature. In North Carolina no negro or mulatto slave can be set free "except for meritorious services to be adjudged of and allowed by the County Court." In Tennessee the court is authorized to emancipate upon petition, if the measures set forth in the petition, are in the opinion of the court, "consistent with the interest and policy of the state." In Mississippi the legislature only can emancipate, by special act, and that only upon proof of meritorious services,

§c. In Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, and Maryland, emancipation may be effected by deeds registered in court, saving the "rights of creditors," and giving bonds for maintenance if required by the court. In Virginia, however, if the emancipated be over twenty-one, he must leave the state before the expiration of twelve months, or be reduced into slavery. In Louisiana emancipation is regulated as follows:

"The master who wishes to emancipate his slave, is bound to make a declaration of his intention to the judge of the parish where he resides; the judge must order notice of it to be published during forty days by advertisement posted at the door of the court house, and if at the expiration of this delay, no opposition be made, he shall authorize the master to pass the act of emancipation." *Art. 187.* The general powers thus conferred, are subject nevertheless, to these limitations: "No one can emancipate his slave unless the slave has attained the age of *thirty years*, and has behaved well at least for four years preceding his emancipation;" *Art. 185*, except "*a slave who has saved the life of his master, his master's wife, or one of his children,*" for such a one "*may be emancipated at any age.*" *Art. 186.*

Slaves emancipated otherwise than by these formalities are liable to be reduced to slavery, and in probably all the states except North Carolina they are liable to be sold for the debts of their emancipators contracted before their emancipation. The State of Georgia has the following barbarous enactment:

"If any person or persons shall, after the passing of this act (1801,) set free any slave or slaves, in any other manner and form than the one prescribed herein, (i. e. by special legislative act,) he shall forfeit for every such offence *two hundred dollars*, to be recovered by action of debt, or indictment, the one half to be applied to the use of the county in which the offence may have been committed, the other half to the use of the informer, and the said slave or slaves so manumitted and set free, shall be still to all intents and purposes as much in a state of slavery as before they were manumitted and set free by the party or parties so offending." *Prince's Digest*, 457.

In 1818 this unrighteous edict was fortified by the following:

"All and every will and testament, deed, whether by way of trust or otherwise, contract, agreement or stipulation, or other instrument in writing, or by parole, made and executed for the purpose of effecting or endeavouring to effect the manumission of any slave or slaves, either directly by conferring or attempting to confer freedom on such slave or slaves, or indirectly or virtually, by allowing and securing or attempting to allow and secure to such slave or slaves the right or privilege of working for his, her or themselves, free from the control of the master or owner of such slave or slaves, or of enjoying the profits of his, her or their labour or skill, shall be and the same are hereby declared to be utterly null and void; and the person or persons so making, &c. any such deed, &c. &c., and all and every person or persons concerned in giving or attempting to give effect thereto, whether

by accepting the trust thereby created or attempted to be created, or in any way or manner whatsoever, shall be severally liable to a penalty not exceeding *one thousand dollars*, to be recovered, &c. &c., and each and every slave or slaves in whose behalf such will or testament, &c. &c., shall have been made, shall be liable to be arrested by warrant under the hand and seal of any magistrate of this state, and being thereof *convicted*, &c. and shall be liable to be sold as a slave or slaves, by public outcry, and the proceeds of such sales shall be appropriated, &c. &c." *Prince's Digest*, 466.

LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Act of congress of 1793, respecting "persons escaping from the service of their masters," has the following section, whereby colored persons, or rather all persons, for there is no distinction in regard to color, are deprived of the right of TRIAL BY JURY, a right granted to all persons by the constitution :

"§ 3. *And be it further enacted*, That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said states, or territory, the person to whom such labor, or service, may be due, his agent, or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing, or being within the state, or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge, or magistrate, either by oral testimony, or affidavit, taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such state or territory, that the person so seized, or arrested, doth, under the laws of the state or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate, to give a certificate to such claimant, his agent, or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor, to the state or territory, from which he or she fled."—*Bioren and Duane*, Vol. III, p. 331.

In an "Act to provide a revenue for the Canal Fund," of the Aldermen and Common Council of the city of Washington, passed by virtue of authority derived from the congress of the United States, we find the following :—

"For a license to trade or traffic in slaves for profit, whether as agent or otherwise, four hundred dollars, &c.

"§ 2. *And be it enacted*, That the Register shall deposit all moneys received from taxes imposed by this Act, to the credit of the canal fund.—*Rothwell, City Laws*, 249.

[Approved, July 28, 1831.]

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

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WHOLE No. 31.



This picture of a poor fugitive is from one of the stereotype cuts manufactured in this city for the southern market, and used on handbills offering rewards for runaway slaves.

THE RUNAWAY.

To escape from a powerful enemy, often requires as much courage and generalship as to conquer. One of the most celebrated military exploits on record, is the *retreat* of the ten thousand Greeks under

Xenophon, for a great distance through an enemy's country. The sympathy of the reader is wonderfully drawn out for these disappointed Greeks, returning chop-fallen and wofully beset from their unsuccessful attempt to put one Asiatic despot on the throne of another. But the retreat of the ten thousand native Americans now living safely in Upper Canada, escaping from worse than Asiatic tyranny and having to pass, hungry and hunted, through the wide domains of false freedom, is far more worthy of being placed upon record. We trust, too, that in a land of Christians these peaceful fugitives will not receive less sympathy than those murderous old Greeks, in their brazen helmets and bull-hide shields. There is every thing in the cause of the American fugitive to call for Christian sympathy. He is flying, not from the consequences, or punishment of his own crime; not from his own voluntary engagements; but from soul-degrading, brutalizing oppression. He is flying from a land where he is a chattel, to a land where he can stand up a man, and freely converse with man and God—a land where he can fulfil the purpose for which his Maker made him. The authority of Scripture must not be brought to stop his flight, any more than if he were escaping from the jaws of a lion. Paul sent back Onesimus, not to be a slave, but a brother beloved. If Philemon had disobeyed the apostolic injunction and made Onesimus a slave, Paul would certainly have advised him to take his liberty if he could get it. A slave is no more bound to stay with his master, than any other laborer is bound to work for every man who will not pay him. To every slave we say, in the spirit of the Apostle's language (1 Cor. vii, 21.) bear your bondage patiently while you must, but run away as soon as you can. We do not know where to look for nobler physical achievements than among the colored people of Canada who have fled from southern slavery. To familiarise our readers with what they have done and suffered, we give the narrative of one who escaped from Kentucky nineteen years ago and is now living an honest, industrious, useful, and happy life, in Upper Canada. The narrative was drawn up by Rev. Hiram Wilson, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and may be relied on as faithfully taken from the lips of the fugitive. With slight grammatical corrections it is his own language.

NARRATIVE OF DAVID BARRETT.

"I was held in bondage in Fayette Co., Kentucky, near Lexington, by James Graves till I was eighteen years of age. My master was

not so cruel as many others; I could not complain of harsh treatment but was determined not to be whipped.

"In the fall of 1818, having been out on a frolic, when I came home Monday morning, my master threatened to flog me. I went into the field to ploughing without stopping to change my clothes. He came out in the forenoon and ordered me to take out the horse to feed, evidently intending to whip me while the horse was eating. Thought I, if you flog me, old fellow, you will have to give me a chase first. I loosed my horse from the plough, but instead of obeying his orders, I mounted and rode in haste to the opposite side of the field, dismounted and sculked into the woods. This was the last my master ever saw of me. I travelled fifty miles with but little difficulty, to within four miles of Mays-Lick. Having fasted till the second evening of my journey, I became exceedingly hungry. In the dusk of evening I smelt meat that was frying in a house one quarter of a mile ahead of me. When I came up I looked through the fence into the kitchen, and saw a lady, who had been frying the meat and baking cakes, leaving the kitchen and going into the other part of the house, probably intending to return in a minute with a plate to take up her warm cakes. I saved her the trouble, for in a moment I entered, emptied her cakes into my hat, took a slice or two of her meat, leaped the fence as quick as possible and went on my way. For some distance I thought I heard the sound of footsteps behind me, but am persuaded that it was nothing but the palpitations of my heart. Next morning I was accosted by three men. I fought them like a Turk for some time, but they overcame me and took me to their house at Mays-Lick. I yielded to them only on the condition that they would take me back to my master, which they promised to do; but they deceived me, for while I was at dinner they sent for a magistrate, and I was ordered to jail. On my way to jail I met an old lady who pitied me very much. Said she, 'it's a great pity you should be tied up in that way and dragged off as a slave when you have as much right to your freedom as they (my pursuers) have. Though you are black, you have a soul to be saved as well as they.' My hands being tied, she filled my pockets with peaches, wished that I might be a good boy and that she might meet me in heaven. I met a man by name of Trotter, with whom I was well acquainted at Lexington. He asked what the difficulty was between me and my master. I told him. Said he, 'if it is nothing more than that I will buy you of Graves.' I requested him to take me back and not suffer me to go to jail. He told me to go to the jail, that

he thought he could get me the cheaper, but charged the men not to abuse me as they would have nothing for taking me up.

"We soon came in sight of Washington. They showed me the jail and began to torment me by saying, look at your house. Ha, Jack ! there's your house. I sat down by the side of the road. They urged me to go on. I told them I was tired. One of them threatened to whip me. I reminded them of what Mr. Trotter had said, that if they abused me they should have nothing for taking me up. This frightened them that they let me alone. I kept my seat for a time and determined not to go to jail, but they took me by force and put me upon a horse with my hands tied before and my arms behind, by my elbows. My hands were tied so loosely that I was conscious I could easily get the use of them. Two men now followed me on foot. One of them held the end of a line which was attached to my elbow. I rode on towards the village in rather a careless manner; came at length to a long hill. While I was descending the hill the one who held the line was off his guard, his head partly turned, discoursing with his companion. I gave the horse a sudden start and jerked him so that he lost his balance and ran cross-legged a few yards, tumbled down and rolled over, while my fleet horse instantly separated me from them. I left the main road, passed the town by a circuitous rout, leaving it to my left, and came to the Ohio river which passes within three miles of the above place. It was now becoming dark. I rode down the bank determined to make my horse swim the stream and bear me over on his back. I forced him into the water which was very deep near the edge. The fore part of the horse went mostly under, while his hind feet were yet upon the bank. He struggled, threw up his head and struck my chin. The blow hurt me and made me angry. By a desperate struggle the horse recovered the bank again, which was so abrupt that I thought best to give up an undertaking so perilous. I tied the horse to a tree and came down to Maysville late in the evening and found a boat, where I fell in company with rascals who were drinking and carousing. When the time came for me to bring in my footing according to the custom of the company, they gave me the empty jug. I started as if to fill it but knew I had no money; set down the jug on the end of the plank that extended from the boat to the shore and hastened away in search of a canoe to cross the river in; found one half a mile below but could not manage it to advantage; paddled some distance from shore but would find myself going the wrong way, and my canoe whirling. I paddled all on one side; per-

severed, however, in learning to navigate till I succeeded in getting across. When I reached the Ohio shore I searched to satisfy myself that I was not on an island (for I had often heard of there being islands in the river) found a horse on the beach with a yoke on his neck and caught him. Now, said I for a ride through Ohio. I had heard but little about Canada; had heard that there was such a country and that it was somewhere to the north of Ohio. I turned the yoke on the horse's neck, mounted and used the yoke for my bridle. Holding the sides that trail upon the ground in either hand, I could turn the creature to the right or left, or by bearing down check him by choking a little. I started, not knowing where I was nor which way I was going; rode on some distance till I came to a house where I thought best to inquire, under the pretence that I was lost.

"I stopt near the door and halloed. A man came out and asked what the matter was. I told him I had got bewildered and had been out all night and didn't know where I was; asked him where this road led to. 'The right hand,' said he, 'leads down to the river and the left hand to Decatur, which is one mile from here.' 'Decatur,' said I, 'that's the very place I want to find;' thanked him and went on, conscious that Decatur would find me still in a maze of doubt and ignorance as to my course for I never had heard of the place before. I passed through D. just before day-light; let my horse go, turned aside into the woods and lay down to rest. On waking up I found I was not more than thirty yards from the road, and it seemed a mere mercy that I was not taken; for several men passed by and looked at me, talking together and wondering if I was sick, or what could be the matter with me. When they got by I resumed my journey till I became very hungry; stopped at a house and asked a lady for a morsel of something to eat; told her I was travelling and had no money. 'Come in,' said she, 'come in.' She gave me a good dinner; was very kind; talked much; quite too much for my convenience, so that I was glad to get away from her as soon as I could satisfy my stomach. Went on till near dark when I was chased by three axemen. I took to the woods, rambled for some time and came out at a late hour by a building I supposed to be a barn; found straw near it which served as my couch for the night. When I rose in the morning my supposed barn was a church and to my surprise I discovered numerous graves around me. Came on at length in sight of a man who was walking in the road; saw where his hoe stood in the field with which he had been cutting up corn; bounded over the fence and took the handle from the

hose for a weapon with a settled determination not to leave the road nor be taken alive. I reasoned thus with myself. I am a man as well as others; have been driven once from my road into a grave-yard to lodge among the dead; and I'll fight till I die rather than leave my way. I walked up to the man. He spoke to me and asked me if I wanted to hire. I replied, if I was a white man you wouldnt ask me that, I reckon you want me to work for you for nothing. 'No,' said he, 'I'll give you as much as those you worked for last.' 'Yes,' said I, 'that's just what you want I reckon.' My reply revealed my former condition which made him laugh. He asked me to come to his house and take breakfast. He insisted, declaring that he was my friend. Still I refused fearing that he was setting a trap for me. At length his wife and two daughters came out and urged me to come in and have breakfast, told me they were all friends to colored people. I yielded to their entreaties and went in. They invited me to sit down at the table with them. I refused, told them I could take a piece in my hand, but, no; nothing would satisfy them but to seat myself with them. The man told me he didnt set side tables for colored people. Said he, 'if you are good enough to come into my house you are good enough to sit at my table and eat with me.' I sat down at the table opposite to him but was full of suspicion, I had never been accustomed to such treatment and knew not what it meant. The good man, as he proved to be, closed his eyes to ask a blessing. Thought I, old man, you want me to shut my eyes and then you and your family will pounce upon me. "With my knife in one hand and my fork in the other, I sat facing him taking care to keep my eyes wide open, but in the enjoyment of a good wholesome breakfast and cheerful conversation my fears soon left me. The lady sewed up a bag of provisions for me to carry with me. She insisted on my taking as much as I could carry. When I started the man came with me some distance to show me the way. He directed me to a man on my way upon whom I could call and tarry over night; told him he was a real friend. On learning his name I proceeded. As evening drew on I called on the man to whom I was directed. He received me cordially and treated me as a brother, requested me to tarry one night with him, but fearing I might be betrayed I went on.

"When he found that I was determined to go on, he directed me to another friend with whom he advised me to tarry over-night, but when evening came I was careful not to stop for fear of evil consequences. I turned aside, lay out in the woods near the road, and listened the

fore part of the night, thinking that if there was a plot laid by my professed friends to take me I should hear them pass to the place where I was directed. This night tested the friendship of those upon whom I had called. I came on next morning with fresh confidence in my new chain of friends, called at the house to which I had last been directed—found the man a real friend—staid with him all that day and started in the evening for Richmond, where I was directed to call on a colored woman who sold cakes. I aimed to call at her house but called at the house of a white man, knocked at the door at a very late hour. The man rose, opened the door and let me in. "Why," said he, "you are a negro." "Yes," said the lady, "he's a colored man striving for his freedom I suppose, and he ought to have it." This cheered me, I soon discovered that a young woman in the house knew me, and I remembered her well but made very strange of her, and answered her rather abruptly. The good friend conducted me to the colored woman's house. She kindly offered to supply me with cakes. Here a benevolent contest rose between them, at whose expense my bag was to be replenished, each wishing to bear the blessed burden. It was finally agreed that she should furnish the cakes, and that he should pay for them the next morning. She assured me that if I had a friend on earth he was one. This increased my confidence in him; I returned with him to his house, where we sat down and talked till about an hour before day. He had many things to ask me about my former condition—gave me good advice—told me to go to Canada and get my living by the sweat of my face. He said much against slavery. I asked him why it was that he was there. Most men liked to get rich without working themselves. It seems you have travelled much through the states, and you've seen how easy men obtain their living and get rich having slaves to do their work for them. Said he, 'I've seen quite too much of it. I married my wife in a slave state and her parents hold them, but I don't believe in it. No one can hold slaves and go to heaven believing that it is right, and no one ought to get rich.' Here a controversy rose between him and his wife who lay awake.

"He quoted the scripture that it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. She said that a christian could be and ought to be rich. The richer the better. 'One can be as rich as God is. How easy it is for him to claim the universe, and exclaim, God is mine! He serves God here for a season, but God will place him in the heavens—up-

hold and protect him and be his servant forever. Can't the christian be rich ?' This was their conversation as near as I can recollect, and I shall never forget it. I thought she got the better of him.

"He accompanied me on my way toward Columbus till break of day—told me the distance to Columbus—gave me the parting hand, and bid me God-speed. In less than an hour after I left him, I passed a place where several men were out early by the side of my way, about to engage in killing hogs. One cried out 'there's a nigger,' said another, 'I wonder if he has any authority for going through here.' I walked on as if I would pass without noticing them. One cried out 'ha! there, have you got any pass? where are you going?' I told them it was none of their business. They attempted to stop me, but I ran from them into the woods. They chased me till near ten o'clock.

"I rambled through the woods all that day and the ensuing night in search of the road I had left. I found the road next morning, but was exceedingly faint and hungry, having lost my provisions in the chase the morning previous. I soon came across two boys who informed me that I was in the right way to Columbus, but could not tell me the distance. I reached C. about dusk—took lodgings in a barn a little out of the town. Next morning I enquired of a man who was splitting wood in a yard, for the road called Whetstone, which leads to Upper Sandusky. He raised the stick he was splitting and attempted to knock me down; but I was too quick for him—wielded my old hoe handle and with one blow brought him to the ground. I then escaped into a cornfield and was closely pursued. The number of pursuers increased. I dodged about among the weeds which were very high, till eight or nine o'clock—could hear my pursuers talk thus: 'Here he is, here he is,' in one direction, 'catch him, catch him,' in another. After being hunted for hours in the field like a beast, I at length succeeded in creeping through the fence undiscovered, and by crawling some distance upon the ground, I gained the woods and ran till I found a good place of concealment, and hid till twelve or one o'clock, thinking it more safe to be quiet till the search was over. I started, soon met two boys and enquired of them for the Whetstone road. They told the way but asked me if I was't the black man the people were after in the morning. I made strange of it and asked them what they were after a black man for. They said he had struck a white man and they had been hunting for him all the forenoon. I wondered, and enquired about the matter, as if entirely ignorant of what had been going on. I travelled undisturbed till I came to Darby.

town, I expected when I got to D. to find a village, and while in the centre of the place, I enquired for Darbytown. One of the company I enquired of, who were in a field pulling corn, told me to follow my nose and that would take me to Darbytown. I sauced him, and he threatened to take me up; I ran, and they after me. I outran them, but they went back for their horses. I walked hard all that night and the next day till one o'clock. My pursuers came in sight on horses. I was then on the Sandusky plains as they were called, and could be seen for miles. Having no place of concealment, and deeming it useless to run, I walked steadily on till they came up. One cried out 'ah! you are the very fellow we want.' They told me to come and go with them—asked me if I would give up willingly. I answered yes. We all went back together, till we came to Mr. M's. While the men were feeding their horses and refreshing themselves, Mr. M. came to me privately, and talked with me. Said he, 'do you think you and I can master those fellows.' I told him I thought we could flog them, but he doubted it, and remarked that two of them appeared very stout.' Said he, 'if you can get away from them come to me and I will do all I can for you.' We started on towards Kentucky, talking cheerfully as we went. We passed several knolls or mounds before we left the plain. These were small cities, full of streets and avenues and thronged with a little industrious people called the ant or pismire. I had never seen the like before and enquired what they were; they told me that they were places where negroes heads were buried, who were obstinate and attempted to get away from them; they appealed to me to know if I dared to attempt such a thing, I thought to myself, my good fellows, I shall be as smart as I can, but passed on quietly for some distance, watched an opportunity, and having left the plain and come to the borders of a woody country, I leaped from my horse and ran to one side, hoping soon to disappear from their view in the woods, where they could not have the advantage of their horses in the pursuit, but alas! I soon found myself in a marshy place, sinking in mire to my body.

"I was presently so deep in the mire that I could not extricate myself, and had to call on my pursuers to come and help me out. They came and threw in long sticks and poles to bridge the way to me, till they spattered me all over completely with mire and water. They took me out and had a hearty laugh over me, they told me it was no use for me to think of getting away from them. We soon came to a branch of the Sciota river where I stopped and washed the mud off

'You have mortified me, so I have made myself useless. Now you must maintain me as long as I live.' It came out that the child had been under the charge of another person.

"There are, as is well known throughout the country, houses in the free States which are open to fugitive slaves, and where they are concealed till the search for them is over. I know some of the secrets of such places; and can mention two cases, among many, of runaways, which show how horrible is the tyranny which the slave system authorises men to inflict on each other. A negro had found his way to one of these friendly houses; and had been so skilfully concealed, that repeated searches by his master, (who followed for the purpose of recovering him,) and by constables, had been in vain. After three weeks of this seclusion, the negro became weary, and entreated of his host to be permitted to look out of the window. His host strongly advised him to keep quiet, as it was pretty certain that his master had not given him up. When the host had left him, however, the negro came out of his hiding-place, and went to the window. He met the eye of his master, who was looking up from the street. The poor slave was obliged to return to his bondage.

A young negress had escaped in like manner; was in like manner concealed; and was alarmed by constables, under the direction of her master, entering the house in pursuit of her, when she had had reason to believe that the search was over. She flew up stairs to her chamber in the third story, and drove a heavy article of furniture against the door. The constables pushed in notwithstanding, and the girl leaped from the window into the paved street. Her master looked at her as she lay, declared she would never be good for anything again, and went back into the south. The poor creature, her body bruised, and her limbs fractured, was taken up, and kindly nursed; and she is now maintained in Boston, in her maimed condition, by the charity of some ladies there."—Vol. II, pages 112—114.

A GLIMPSE AT THE "KIND TREATMENT" OF THE SLAVES.

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from Murot's Plantation, near Baton Rouge, about two months ago, the negro man Mantel. Description—black, five feet four inches high, about thirty years old, one scar on the forehead, and much marked with irons.—*New Orleans Bee*, May 27, 1837.

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS REWARD, for the black woman BETSEY, who left my house in Faubourg, McDonough, about the 12th of the present month, when she had on her neck, an iron collar, has a mark on her left cheek, is about twenty years old, five feet four inches high; when she ran away, was well dressed, &c.

CHARLES KERNIN Parish of Jefferson.

New Orleans Bee, June 9, 1837.

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WHOLE No. 32.

THE RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY.

Among republicans it is a very common opinion that the object of government is to protect the rights of the governed. While there are evil men in the world, there must be those who shall bear the sword for the safety of the good. But the sword of justice cannot be a very effectual protection to *any*, unless it is an equal protection to *all*. If it proves a terror to the good as well as to the evil, it becomes itself a provocation to crime. But when the law is as respectful of the rights of a houseless vagabond, as of the wealthiest citizen of the republic, it does not so much condescend to the poor, as it plants palisades around the mansions of the rich.

One of the most important safeguards of justice is TRIAL BY JURY. Such is the opinion of the soundest jurists, gathered from the experience of ages. The most enlightened nations of antiquity had their *dikastai* and their *judices*, men selected from the people, to decide the guilt or innocence of the accused after hearing the evidence. If they were not the same, they were analogous to modern juries in the most essential respects. According to Judge Blackstone the traces of the English trial by jury are mingled with the remotest records of the nation. Our Saxon ancestors attributed the institution, so highly did they venerate it, to their God Woden. The great charter of English rights, extorted by the rising spirit of British freedom from the third Henry, is chiefly celebrated and probably receives its name of Magna Charta from its ordaining that no man shall be hurt in life, liberty, and property without being tried by a jury of his peers. Hence the trial by jury has come to be considered as inseparable from English liberty.

What the fathers of American liberty thought of it, is obvious from the constitutions of the several states and of the United States, in all of which it is most carefully guarded.

Says the Constitution of the United States:—

“In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district

wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

"In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law"—*Amendments, Art. 6 & 7.*

Again the constitution declares 'that "no person shall be deprived of life, LIBERTY, or property,* without due process of law."

Whether we consider the transmutation of a *person* into a *chattel*, as a criminal award, or as a mere business transaction, it is plain that it can take place, under the constitution, only by "due process of law," by which we are to understand a *trial by jury*. The constitution solemnly guarantees that *no person* shall be deprived of liberty, by the action of the federal government, without the verdict of a fair and impartial jury of his peers. But slavery will not submit to this wholesome restraint of the federal constitution. It demands that the trial by jury shall be prostrated, and that even without regard to complexion, for the convenience of slaveholders in recovering their fugitive slaves.

It is commonly supposed that the constitution contains a compact whereby the free states are obliged to yield up persons claimed as fugitive slaves, according to the summary process pointed out in the Act of Congress of 1793. But a comparison of the provision of the constitution with the Act in question, will correct this mistake. According to the constitution,—

"No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

* Hence it is obvious that no person, so far as the Constitution of the United States is concerned, can hold as *property* that which, without due process of law, deprives another of *liberty*. If, then, slavery can exist under the constitution at all, it is only over those who have been deprived of liberty by due process of law. All others are constitutionally free, and the *property* which is claimed in their persons, is, by the constitution, no property, but a usurpation. So far from sanctioning the slavery which exists in the southern states, the constitution, if it were to take the place of the state laws, would open the way for the slaves to recover wages or damages in the courts of the United States, for not one of the two and a half millions has been deprived of liberty by any "due process of law," if by any process whatever.

Here the states are simply bound to deliver up, not any person who may be *claimed* as a fugitive from service or labor due in another state, but one who really *is* such. If the person claimed does not confess his indebtedness, or if he claims protection as a citizen of the state in which he is found, it remains for the claimant of service or labor to establish his claim by legal proof. Surely the constitution does not require that this proof shall *not* be submitted to a jury. It does not provide for the mode in which the question shall be decided at all, but only for the action of the state in the event of a decision in favor of the claimant, viz. that the slave, (or rather the debtor, for the language, whatever may have been the design of the framers of the constitution, has no manner of applicability to the slave,) shall be delivered up. Therefore since "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people," the states, only, have the right to fix the *mode of trial*.

If, now, we examine the Act of Congress of 1793, respecting fugitives, &c., we shall see that it is unconstitutional on two grounds. 1st. Congress had no power to act in the premises, the power belonging to the states. 2nd. Granting that congress had the power, the Act is unconstitutional because it deprives a person of liberty without due process of law. By the following clause *any person* may be seized without warrant, tried without jury, or power to compel the attendance of witnesses, and hurried into perpetual slavery by the voice of any single magistrate whom the *claimant may select*!

"§ 3. *And be it further enacted*, That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the north-west or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said states, or territory, the person to whom such labor, or service, may be due, his agent, or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing, or being within the state, or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon *proof* to the satisfaction of such judge, or magistrate, either by oral testimony, or affidavit, taken before and certified by a *magistrate* of any such state, or territory, that the person so seized, or arrested, doth, under the laws of the state or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge, or magistrate, to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent, or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor, to the state or territory from which he or she fled.—*Biorn & Duane*, vol. iii, p. 331.

Though the constitutionality of the Act has been *assumed* by high legal authorities, it has also been denied. Thus the matter is left freely open for investigation, and as it is to be decided by the plain language of the constitution, any person who is capable of understanding his mother tongue is competent to decide it without the aid of the courts. But as the point is of immense importance to the cause of liberty we ask the careful attention of the reader to the following arguments. The first is from the speech of the HON. FRANCIS JAMES, in the Senate of Pennsylvania, recently delivered in support of a bill granting the right of Trial by Jury to persons who may be arrested as fugitive slaves; the second is the opinion of Chancellor Walworth in the case of JACK vs. MARY MARTIN, argued before the court for the Correction of Errors in the State of New York, (14 Wendell's Reports, 524.)

ARGUMENT OF HON. FRANCIS JAMES.

"The eighteenth clause of the eighth section, first article of the constitution, declares that congress shall have power 'to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the *foregoing powers*, and all *other* powers vested by this constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof.' Now, it so happens that in the enumerated powers of congress which are referred to in the clause just quoted as the '*foregoing powers*,' the power to pass laws on the subject of the fugitives from labor or service is no where to be found. A warrant for the passage of the act of 1793, must be therefore sought elsewhere than in the enumerated powers of congress. But, say the opponents of the bill, congress shall make all laws *necessary* for carrying into execution all *other* powers vested by the constitution in the Government of the United States, &c. This, sir, I admit; and what follows? Not that the power to regulate the mode of apprehending a reputed fugitive from labor, and to determine the manner whereby it should be ascertained, whether he *owed* service and labor to the party claiming him or not, was vested by the constitution in the Government of the United States. The fact that no *express* power of such a character exists is undisputed. If, therefore, such power belongs to congress, it must have been given by implication, and such implication must be shown to be necessary, for it has been determined by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Martin vs. Hunter's lessee I, Wheaton, 326, that 'the Government of the United States can claim no powers which are not granted to it by the constitution, and the powers actually granted must be such as are *expressly* given, or given by *necessary* implication.' I have attempted to show in a former part of my argument, from a plain common sense construction of the clause in the constitution which relates to fugitives from labor, that the power could not exist in congress

by implication, because it was manifest from the language of the clause, that this was one of 'the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states,' and that consequently 'it was reserved to the states respectively.' I am sustained in this position by a celebrated American law commentator. Judge Tucker in his 1st Blackstone, App. page 151, says, 'that the Constitution of the United States as a social compact ought to receive a strict construction, whenever the right of personal liberty, of personal security, or private property, may become the object of dispute, because every person whose liberty or property was thereby rendered subject to the new government, was antecedently a member of a civil society, to whose regulation he had submitted himself, and under whose authority and protection he still remains, and in all cases not *expressly* submitted to the new government.'

"Now, sir, unless it can be shown that this Act of Congress was one of those laws which became *necessary* and proper for carrying into execution *other* powers (than those enumerated,) vested by the constitution in the Government of the United States, and that the power to pass laws for the reclaiming of fugitives was one of the powers included in the term *other* powers, how can it be said that the Act of Congress itself was authorized, and if not authorized how can it be said that the passage of the bill now before us would, in consequence of its infringement on that Act of Congress be unconstitutional. The constitution declares that 'no person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor.' Here is a direct prohibition against the passage of any law by one state going to *discharge* from labor or service, a person who may owe such labor or service in another state. But the prohibition goes no further, and that which follows in the same clause of the constitution, I think I have shown, belongs exclusively to the states themselves to legislate upon. Suppose, however, that among the enumerated powers of congress this power had been included; still its existence would have been no justification of an infraction by the law of congress of other portions of the constitution. The Act of Congress authorizes the party claimant, his agent, or attorney, to '*seize or arrest* such fugitive from labor, and take him or her before any judge,' &c. The Constitution of the United States says, that 'the right of the people to be secure in their *persons*, houses, papers, and effects, against *unreasonable searches and seizures*, shall not be violated. Now, sir, gentlemen must show either that persons who from the color of their skin, may become the object of this unceremonious *seizure* are not embraced within the meaning of the word '*people*,' or they must prove that the *seizure* is not an *unreasonable seizure*, or they must admit that *this* part of the law of congress at least is an infringement not only of the *spirit* but of the *letter* of the constitution. Again, the act of congress empowers and directs any judge or magistrate before whom such reputed fugitive may be taken, upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony, or affidavit taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such state, that the party claimed owes service to the party claimant,

to give a certificate thereof to the party claimant, his agent, or attorney, to remove the fugitive to the state or territory from which he fled. Thus we perceive that after the arrest, and when the reputed fugitive is brought into the presence of the judge, his destiny may hang upon the contents of a single *ex-parte* affidavit. Who before ever heard of such mockery of justice? Show me if you can upon the statute books of any nation claiming to be free, the shadow of a law that sports thus with human liberty, and human rights. A man! aye sir, a man tried, convicted, and sentenced to hopeless, and in many instances worse than Egyptian bondage, upon an *ex-parte* affidavit! And yet such is the law of congress.

"Mr. Chairman, I take upon me to say that so far is the law of congress from according with the constitution, there is not a syllable, a word, or a letter of that invaluable instrument, that does not frown upon that law by reason of the injustice of its provisions. Go search the catalogue of human wrongs—trace the history of him who has suffered most from oppression: follow him through every scene of bodily and mental anguish, and after you shall have collected the particulars of his tale of woe, weigh it in the balance, with the story of the freeman, torn from his 'family and his home,' and by means of false testimony which the Act of Congress gives him no opportunity to disprove, adjudged to be a slave; and see which will preponderate. Here is the story, sir, plain, simple, and undisguised. 'I was seized without warrant, in a land which boasts of its freedom, and the justice of its laws; carried before a judge, and there upon an *ex-parte* affidavit, without the intervention of a jury, sentenced to perpetual bondage.' This may be the tale of a *freeman*, of him who has felt, and knows how to appreciate the blessings of liberty. Cases have occurred, and they may again occur, where the free inhabitants of your own state have been thus seized, and attempts made which it is to be feared, have in some instances, been but too successful, to obtain certificates for their removal out of the state by means of false swearing. Can it be possible that the framers of a constitution so admirably adapted in all its parts to the promotion of the great ends of justice, and to the preservation of the rights of the people, from every encroachment which might be made upon them by the strong arm of arbitrary power; can it be possible that they ever designed to commit to the general government a power to erect tribunals within the limits of a sovereign state, to pass upon the liberty or slavery of a free native born inhabitant of that state? Mr. Chairman, I cannot believe it. I cannot give my assent to a proposition so monstrous. It is contrary to the principles of the compact—contrary to the rights reserved to the states—contrary to the whole constitution both in letter and in spirit. Shall it be said, that, in this great charter of our liberties, which throws its protecting shield over him who stands charged with having violated the laws of his country in the commission of crime, there cannot be found at least equal protection for the man who is acknowledgedly free from moral guilt, and to whom moral wrong is not imputed: And yet, sir, if the construction contended for by gentlemen in support of the constitutionality of the laws of congress be a correct construction,

this sacred instrument would become justly liable to the charge of partiality.

"The 6th article of the amendment to the constitution declares, that 'in all criminal prosecutions, the *accused* shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an *impartial* jury of the state and district where the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel in his defence.' Now, I ask you to compare the situation of him who is charged with crime, with the situation of him who is charged with being a runaway slave.—The supposed criminal shall be tried, says the constitution, by an *impartial jury* of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; the supposed slave, says the Act of Congress, shall be tried by a *single judge* any where within the state where he shall have been arrested. The supposed criminal, says the constitution, shall be *confronted with the witnesses against him*;—the supposed slave may by the Act of Congress, be sentenced to bondage for life, upon the evidence of an affidavit taken without his presence: the reputed criminal, says the constitution, shall have *compulsory* process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and the assistance of counsel in his defence; whilst under the Act of Congress, the reputed fugitive has neither time nor opportunity allowed him to obtain witnesses or counsel. Such, sir, is the difference between the provisions of the constitution, in the case of persons accused of crime, and the provisions of the Act of Congress, in the case of persons charged with being fugitives from service or labor.

"The issue between the claimant and the claimed, is of a mixed character. On the part of the person claimed, his natural rights are involved in the issue; whilst on the part of the party claimant, the question involved is one of property alone. The *liberty* of the party claimed being on his part the matter in issue, the constitution comes directly to his aid, in his application for a jury trial: for it declares, in the 5th article of amendments, that 'no person shall be deprived of life, *liberty*, or property, without *due process of law*.'

"Now, will any man, having due respect for the reputation of his own opinions, venture to affirm, that the unceremonious mode pointed out by the Act of Congress, of settling the question between the parties in the issue, just referred to, can be denominated '*due process of law*,' in the sense intended by the amendment? There is no way known to the law of this state, whereby a man can be ultimately deprived of life, liberty, or property, but by the verdict of a jury; and no process to deprive him of either, without the intervention of a jury, can be denominated '*due process of law*,' within the meaning of the constitution. But suppose it be conceded that the only question involved in the issue, would be one of property, and that property should exceed in value twenty dollars, then the constitution guarantees to either party, the right of trial by jury.

"In the 7th article of amendments to the constitution, it is written, that 'in suits at common law where the value in controversy shall

exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved &c. It has been said, that the words 'suits at common law' do not embrace the case in question; but if this ever has been a controverted point, it is so no longer—for the Supreme Court, in *Parsons vs. Bedford* and others, 3 Pet. 447, in determining a question arising out of this very amendment declare, that 'in a just sense, the amendment then may well be construed to embrace all suits which are not of equity and admiralty jurisdiction, whatever may be the peculiar form which they may assume to settle legal rights.' Thus, Mr. Chairman, have I endeavored to show, and as I think have shown, that there does not exist the slightest constitutional impediment to the passage of the bill—that the constitution contains no prohibition, either express or implied, against the right of the state to legislate on the subject; and that the Act of Congress, which it is said will be violated by the proposed law, is itself contrary to the letter and spirit of the constitution."

OPINION OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

"This cause has been argued in this court upon the assumption, that the decision which is now to be made, necessarily involves the question as to the constitutional right of congress to legislate upon the subject of fugitive slaves and apprentices—or, in the language of the constitution, persons held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another; and the decision of the court below is put upon the ground that congress not only has the power to legislate upon the subject, but that their legislation must necessarily be exclusive in relation to this matter; that the law of congress of February, 1793, is valid and binding upon the states; under which law any free citizen of this state may be seized as a slave or apprentice who has escaped from servitude, and transported to a distant part of the union, without any trial except a summary examination before a magistrate, who is not even clothed with power to compel the attendance of witnesses upon such investigation; and upon the certificate of such magistrate that he is satisfied that such citizen owes service to the person claiming him under the laws of the state to which he is to be transported. If the decision of this cause turned upon these questions, I am not prepared to say that the Congress of the United States had the power, under the constitution, to make the certificate of a state magistrate conclusive evidence of the right of the claimant, to remove a native born citizen of that state to a distant part of the Union, so as to deprive him of the right of the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* and the right of trial by jury in the state where he is found. In the case of *Martin*, before the Circuit Court of the United States for the southern district of New York, to which we were referred on the argument, the facts appear to be assumed that there is no question as to the identity of the individual, whose services are claimed, and that he is in truth a fugitive from the state under whose laws it is alleged that he owes services or labor to the claimant. If these im-

portant facts are conceded or judicially established, with the additional fact that the fugitive was actually claimed, and held in servitude in the state from which he fled, whether rightfully or otherwise, previous to his flight, I admit there can be no reasonable objection in principle to the removal of the person whose services were thus claimed, back to the state from which he fled, as the most proper place for the trial and final decision of the question whether the claimant was legally entitled to his services, according to the laws of that state. But suppose, as is frequently the case, that the question to be tried relates merely to the identity of the person claimed as a fugitive slave or apprentice, he insisting that he is a free native born citizen of the state where he is found residing at the time the claim is made, and that he has never been in the state under whose laws his services are claimed—can it for a moment be supposed that the framers of the constitution intended to authorise the transportation of a person thus claimed to a distant part of the Union, as a slave, upon a mere summary examination before an inferior magistrate, who is clothed with no power to compel the attendance of witnesses to ascertain the truth of the allegations of the respective parties!—Whatever others may think upon this subject, I must still be permitted to doubt whether the patriots of the revolution who framed the Constitution of the United States, and who had incorporated into the Declaration of Independence, as one of the justifiable causes of separation from our mother country, that the inhabitants of the colonies had been transported beyond seas for trial, could ever have intended to sanction such a principle as to one who was merely claimed as a fugitive from servitude in another state.

“I am one of those who have the habit of believing, that the state legislatures had general powers to pass laws on all subjects, except those in which they were restricted by the Constitution of the United States, or their own local constitutions, and that congress had no power to legislate on any subject, except so far as the power was delegated to it by the Constitution of the United States. I have looked in vain among the powers delegated to congress by the constitution, for any general authority to that body to legislate on this subject. It certainly is not contained in any express grant of power, and it does not appear to be embraced in the general grant of incidental powers contained in the last clause of the constitution relative to the powers of congress. *Const. art. 1. § 8, sub. 17.* The law of the United States respecting fugitives from justice and fugitives slaves, is not a law to carry into effect any of the powers expressly granted to congress, ‘or any of the powers vested by the constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof.’ It appears to be a law to regulate the exercise of the rights secured to the individual states, or the inhabitants thereof, by the second section of the fourth article of the constitution; which section, like the ninth section of the first article, merely imposes a restriction and a duty upon other states and individuals in relation to such rights, but vests no power in the federal government, or any department or officer thereof, except the *judicial power* of declaring and enforcing the rights secured by the constitution. The Act of February, 1793, conferring ministerial

powers upon the state magistrates, and regulating the exercise of the powers of the state executive, is certainly not a law to carry into effect the judicial power of the United States; which judicial power cannot be vested in state officers. If the provisions of the constitution, as to fugitive slaves and fugitives from justice, could not be carried into effect without the actual legislation of congress on the subject, perhaps a power of federal legislation might be implied from the constitution itself; but no such power can be inferred from the mere fact that it may be more convenient that congress should exercise the power, than that it should be exercised by the state legislatures. In these cases of fugitive slaves and fugitives from justice, it is not certain that any legislation whatever is necessary, or was contemplated by the framers of the constitution. The provision as to persons escaping from servitude in one state into another, appears by their journal to have been adopted by an unanimous vote of the convention. At that time the existence of involuntary servitude, or the relation of master and servant, was known to and recognized by the laws of every state in the Union except Massachusetts, and the legal right of recaption by the master existed in all, as a part of the customary or common law of the whole confederacy. On the other hand, the common law writ of *homine replegiando*, for the purpose of trying the right of the master to the services of the slave, was well known to the laws of the several states, and was in constant use for that purpose, except so far as it had been superseded by the more summary proceeding by *habeas corpus*, or by local legislation. The object of the framers of the constitution, therefore, was not to provide a new mode by which the master might be enabled to recover the services of his fugitive slave, but merely to restrain the exercise of a power, which the state legislatures respectively would otherwise have possessed, to deprive the master of such pre-existing right of recaption. Under this provision of the constitution, even without any legislation on the subject, the right of the master to reclaim the fugitive slave is fully secured, so as to give him a valid claim in damages against any one who interferes with the right *Glen, v. Hodges*, 9. *John R.* 67. But even if legislation on this subject is actually necessary, in order to secure to the master the full enjoyment of the right of recaption guarantied to him by the constitution, the state legislatures are perfectly competent to pass the necessary laws to carry this provision of the constitution into full effect. The members of the state legislatures, as well as other state officers, both executive and judicial, being bound by oath to support the constitution, it cannot legally be presumed that they will violate their duty in this respect. The Constitution of the United States being the paramount law on this subject, the judicial tribunals of the respective states are bound by their oaths to protect the master's constitutional right of recaption, against any improper state legislation, and against the unauthorized acts of individuals, by which such right may be impaired; and the Supreme Court of the United States, as the tribunal of dernier resort on such a question, is possessed of ample powers to correct any erroneous decision which might be made in the state courts against the right of the master. Upon the fullest examination of the subject,

therefore, I find it impossible to bring my mind to the conclusion that the framers of the constitution have authorized the Congress of the United States, to pass a law by which the certificate of a justice of the peace of the state, shall be made conclusive evidence of the right of the claimant, to remove one who may be a free native born citizen of this state, to a distant part of the union as a slave; and thereby to deprive such person of the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*, as well as that of his common law-suit to try his right of citizenship in the state where the claim is made, and where he is residing at the time of such claim."

But even where the constitutionality of the Act of 1793, has been maintained, it has not always been denied that the state has a right to grant a jury trial after the certificate given by the magistrate. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts, Chief Justice Parker, held as follows:

"It is said, that the Act that is passed on this subject is contrary to the amendment to the constitution securing the people in their persons and property against seizures, &c. But all the parts of the instrument are to be taken together. It is very obvious that *slaves* are not parties to the constitution, and the amendment has relation to the parties. * * But it is objected that a person may in this summary manner, *seize a freeman*. It may be so but it would be attended with mischievous consequences to the person making the seizure, and a *habeas corpus* would lie to obtain the release of the person seized. And if a *habeas corpus*, then of course the concurrent remedies."

The court did not undertake to show what right the United States' government has more than any state to *presume* a man a slave, and leave it to another jurisdiction to make good the guarantees of its own constitution. But the evidence in favor of the right of trial by jury must be very strong, to have forced the honorable court to so strange a theory of law to save it from what plain common sense cannot fail to call *federal usurpation*. The committee of the Massachusetts legislature which last winter reported a bill for the restoration of the right of trial by jury on questions of personal freedom, thus remark after having discussed the whole subject and quoted the above opinion;

"Your committee are therefore of opinion, that whether the law be considered unconstitutional on the one hand, or valid on the other, upon the construction recognized by the supreme court of this commonwealth, the same result must be arrived at. In either case, a person seized under the Act of Congress, before or after certificate given, may have an independent process, under which he can try his right to the character of a freeman; and in either view, any special legislation upon the particular subject, would be wholly unnecessary.

"And why should not a person so seized have these means of trial? If he be a slave, he is to be given up to his master; but may he not

have the question, whether he be in truth a slave, tried in a manner adequate to its importance to himself and his offspring? And why should it not be tried too where he is, before (on the certificate of any magistrate whom the claimant may select, granted on a summary and ex-parte examination,) he is carried away, where it may be, he can have no means of defence left to him? The trial is to him of tremendous interest, involving consequences, in some respects, even greater than those which await the judgment on the most abhorred crime known in the law. For our constitution provides that even this shall 'not work corruption of the blood.' But a judgment against one, condemning him as a fugitive slave, does work corruption of the blood, and forfeiture to himself, his children, and his children's children, to the latest generation."

It has been contended that the summary process authorized by the Act of Congress is a mere initiatory to a "due process of law," which is to be or may be completed in the state to which the alleged fugitive is taken; and that in this respect it is analogous to the case of a fugitive from justice who is taken from one state to another on requisition of the governor of the state from which he has fled. But in the first place, as has been intimated in the opinions already cited, there is no analogy in the laws, for the certificate of the magistrate is *final*, not only in matter of fact but in point of law. And in the second place it is not certain that even alleged fugitives from justice have not a right to trial by jury as to their identity in the state in which they are found. But this point we do not propose to discuss.

Though slaves have been known, amidst all the discouragements thrown around them, to sue for their freedom in the southern states, yet no one reclaimed from northern freedom by the summary process of the Act of Congress, was ever permitted to approach a southern court to vindicate his liberty. One of the objects of reclaiming fugitives is to strike terror into the slaves who have never fled, by a severe punishment. The master is judge and jury, if not executioner, to the only process of law to which the certificate of our magistrate can ever be introductory. The fate of the recaptured slave is the "lower depth within the lowest deep" of slavery. It is horrible enough in reality, but still more so to the imagination. It is the innermost dungeon of the prison house, which every slave has been taught from his childhood to hang round with whips of scorpions and to fill with the blackness of despair. The want of trial by jury brings this pit of horrors before the feet of every colored freeman as well as every fugitive slave in the land.

(See cover, second page.)

THE
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ARE SLAVEHOLDERS MAN-STEALERS?

White-washer. Your object is a good one, I grant, *but* you are wrong in the method. Chimnies that have been foul a long time should first be cautiously white-washed.

Chimney-sweeper. White-wash soot! Good! Then you can white-wash any thing. But how much cleaner will you make it? *My* way is just to scrape it off and sweep it down thoroughly.

White-washer. But then you *excite* such a dust!

Old Dialogue.

Names are things; and in some cases they are very important things. The mass of men shun vice or rush into it according to the name. To the name they attach, without qualification, the idea of right or wrong, and are apt to welcome a bad thing if it comes with a good name, or to reject a good one with a bad name. The most corrupt men and times do homage to virtue by borrowing from her the names of their vices, and till they have contrived to get rid of the right names of things, they are by no means at ease in their sin. Hence the first step in a moral reformation is to restore to things their appropriate names.

It is no valid objection to grouping a class of actions under one bad name, that the individual acts differ from each other in degrees of guilt, some being covered with the blackness of the pit, while some border on the purity of innocence, or even seem to approach the brightness of virtue. The common principle of wrong ought to hold the whole mass to its name. The divine expounder of the moral law had good reason for extending the dominion of names, as he did, when he declared, He that hateth his brother is a *murderer*; He that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed *adultery* already, &c. The great gulf of crime hath its shallows and its bordering slime and quagmire, but, nevertheless it is a bottomless gulf, and so it should be called. Qualifications, exceptions, buts, and ifs, must not be allowed to flatter or frighten us from the true names of sins to accommodate the dabblers about the edge of a great system of iniquity.

Let us exercise our common sense while we inquire what man-stealing really is. Here a preliminary question arises. Are men naturally, necessarily, and in all circumstances, the rightful owners of

themselves, or, are they capable of becoming the goods and chattels, one of another? And here we must confess the answer lies so deep among self-evident, and therefore undemonstrable truths, that we shall have to assume it. If human beings are to be regarded as stealable property, the chattel and the true owner are, in all cases, identical. Hence it is, strictly speaking, impossible to steal one human being from another. A child may be stolen from a parent, but it must be stolen as a child and not as a chattel. The crime in regard to the parent is a violation of parental affection, rather than of the right of property. It may be said, indeed, that the *services* of the child are abstracted from the parent, and so far there is a violation of the right of property, but after all, the thief could not take from the parent that which he did not possess, namely, the child as an article of property. Regarded as a thing to be possessed and used, the child can only be stolen from himself. And how can that be? The body of the child cannot be abstracted from the soul. That would not be theft but murder. Throw out then the mere unessential circumstances of the *local* abstraction of property from its owner, which constitutes common theft, and the stolen child becomes simply a *slave*. Theft applied to a human being as its object, is, and can be, nothing but slaveholding. The essence of stealing is, that the thief uses as his own that which belongs to another. So when the owner and the property become identical, every moment's use of the owner as the property of another, and not of himself, is an act of stealing. It is just as if I should walk, day after day, at the side of a man and constantly transfer the contents of his pockets into mine. The last pick would be an act of theft, as well as the first. So when a man is made a slave, the slaveholder uses him as a tool from day to day, and every day he commits what is essentially, that is, in its criminal nature, as much an act of theft as was the act of the original kidnapper in first putting on the shackles.

Again, there is a peculiar propriety in designating that slavery to which millions in our country are born and bred, by the word *stealing*. On the coast of Africa, men are made slaves by open *robbery*. But in America men are enslaved, or stolen away from themselves, secretly. Though secrecy is not an essential element in the guilt of theft, it is a very remarkable and an almost inseparable adjunct. And it is remarkable, too, that slaveholders attach the utmost importance to the secrecy with which they perpetrate their crime. They exercise the most sleepless vigilance to keep the slaves ignorant of their rights. They seem to feel that if the mass of the slaves were enlightened in this

respect there would be no such thing as retaining them in bondage. The very education of the slave seems to consist in increasing his ignorance! And so wofully have the stealers of men succeeded, that tens and hundreds of thousands drudge on till death, unconscious of their manhood,—

“Like brutes they live, like brutes they die,”

furnishing the most complete illustrations of *man-stealing* carried out perfectly in all particulars; for, sooth to say, not unfrequently their very *wills* are stolen, and we are triumphantly, and no doubt often sincerely told, that they would not take their liberty if they could have it. Regarding the two and a half millions of slaves as a mass, the theft is perpetrated secretly. If the slaves could all know the whole truth they would instantly reclaim what is theirs; they would drop their hoes to-day, and to-morrow they would be freemen working for wages.

If then it be true that man is not, like a horse, or a mule, a proper object of property, slaveholding is strictly, and in the appropriate use of the word, *man-stealing*, and it is the only crime to which the word *man-stealing* is applicable. And conversely if slaveholding is *not man-stealing*, then men are proper objects of property.

But there are many who admit that men are not legitimate objects of property, that slavery is wrong and ought some time or other to be abolished, who nevertheless object to our calling slaveholders *man-stealers*. It is too bad, according to them, to call the most enlightened and refined men throughout half the country thieves and robbers. Truly it is too bad for such men to be so, but if they *are* so, which is the point we have endeavoured to establish, why not *call* them so? What would be the moral effect of permitting enlightened and refined persons to practice shop-lifting without having the odium of theft attached to them? The fact that the world has not before called slaveholding man-stealing must not be brought to prove that it is not so, for the very question is whether the world is right in the indulgence it has granted to slavery. The question is not one of fashion or philology, but of reason and conscience, a question of things not of words. It is not our purpose to prove that slaveholders are not enlightened and refined, that they are not even pious; but to prove that they steal men, and if they possess the good qualities attributed to them, then they are simply enlightened, refined, and pious men-stealers. A man's good character may come in as probable evidence against a charge of crime while the fact is in doubt, but after the fact is demonstrated or confessed, the argument of good character is too late. Now the fact of slaveholding

is confessed, and it would be enough to call it slaveholding, had not the world attached honor to that word, just as honor was attached to theft in Sparta. *Slaveholders* are compared in the public mind with *monarchs*. In their absolutism it is admitted they may do injustice, but why should we denounce them any more than we do the king of Prussia, or king David himself? Why should we call on them immediately to emancipate their slaves, any more than we call upon the autocrat of Russia immediately to abdicate his throne? But the analogy thus sought to be established fails in every important respect. Russia and Prussia must have some government or other, and absolutism is better than none. On the other hand slaveholders stand between the government and the slaves, and prevent their enjoyment of its benefits. The moment they abdicate their thrones their subjects for the first time begin to enjoy good government, they come directly under the common law and order of the land. Again, the subjects of absolute monarchs are not for that reason chattels, the subjects of slaveholders are. The worst that can be said of absolute monarchy is, that it is an abuse of government, a good and necessary institution; the best that can be said of slavery is, that it is an outrage upon the very rights to protect which government exists. When slavery compares itself with government, we have the wolf playing shepherd, and observe how the wolf, as a wolf should, always compare himself with the worst sort of shepherds, such as butcher and devour their sheep.

As might have been expected, there is a woful outcry against the application of the term *man-stealer* to slaveholders. And this fact itself, as we have seen it exhibited, comes little short of demonstrating the fitness of the term. Such a general agitation could hardly have been the result of any thing but unwelcome truth coming in contact with the public conscience. A bad name falsely applied may disturb an individual, but it will be perfectly unheeded by a large mass. The slaveholders and their friends prefer to be called any thing else than *man-stealers*. They much prefer to be called tyrants. In that case they can plead good treatment, and their friends, if obliged to concede something to the spirit of liberty, will concede an abuse of power and hold fast to the right. But if slaveholding is to be set down as identical with man-stealing, there is no room for apology or reservation. And we have out all the retainers of slavery in full pack, shouting that we must not involve all in indiscriminate condemnation. There are exceptions. Slaveholding cannot be a crime under all circumstances. And then we have the circumstances, the entailment, the laws against

emancipation, the unfitness of the slaves to take care of themselves, the holding of slaves for their own good, &c., &c.

In the first place let it be remarked that all the apologies, exceptions, palliations and extenuations which are applied to slaveholding may equally well be applied to any crime that ever figured upon the New Gate calendar. They apply to all sorts of stealing as well as man-stealing, and much more abundantly. There is no crime known to the criminal codes which does not admit of them. And yet this is not esteemed a reason why these crimes should not be reprobated in unqualified terms. It is so uniformly the custom of writers on morals and religion to denounce without qualification as sins, bad practices which admit of degrees in guilt, that one who should do otherwise would be thought an apologist rather than a rebuker of sin. We look about for an illustration and almost the first thing that chance throws in our way is a religious newspaper, in which we find the following remark:—

“In relation to bathing on the Sabbath, we aver, first, *that it is positively and essentially sinful*. It is an infraction of the command to remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy—a command which is obligatory on every individual. And no infraction of this command can be otherwise than sinful.”*

Had the editor gone about to qualify his charge by circumstances, to point out exceptions and palliations, and complain of the injustice of calling bathing on the Sabbath a sin, he would certainly have run the risk of being set down as no friend of the Sabbath. We might indefinitely multiply examples of such sort of denunciation. And whether or not it is just in the matters to which it is applied, it serves at least to prove that moral teachers do not permit themselves to palliate the sins they would bring men to repent of. And we claim that, when, as in the case of slavery, the sin is enormous, striking its poisonous roots down to the very well-springs of society, and lifting its deadly shade over every good institution, unqualified condemnation is strictly just. Let us look at the whole system, for which indulgence is craved. It is the offspring of the most shameful and deplorable outrage which ever disgraced the history of man, for it may be safely asserted that in all its foul and blood smeared pages nothing can be found so unreservedly diabolical as the ravaging of the coast of poor, savage Africa by men calling themselves civilized and Christian! And the child is worthy of its parent. After all the allowances which the most tender-hearted apologist can claim, *avarice* is the presiding divinity over the destinies of more than two millions. It has not only trans-

* Hartford Watchman, an anti-abolition, congregational paper.

formed them into brutes in law, but nearly so in fact. It has put instead of the vigor, enterprise, honesty, intelligence, patriotism and purity of a well paid laboring population, the sloth, thievishness, licentiousness, ignorance, malignity, fanaticism and sullen brutality of condemned felons. The order of heaven is broken up; those high and holy motives which were meant to sanctify and bless the toil of poverty, leading the human spirit upwards and onwards to the glories of its eternal destiny, are cut off, and in their stead cowardly and cringing FEAR is instilled—FEAR, the nurse of HYPOCRISY and the murderer of TRUTH. *Heathenism* is a faint term for the description of that moral degradation which slavery has produced all over the south. There is no heathenism like it. It has all the dreadful elements of heathenism and some that are darker yet. Slavery, has not only, like heathenism, fallen foul of the relations of man to his God, but it has trampled in the mire the parental and filial instincts. If there be any truth in the apology for the domestic slave-trade, as doubtless there is too much, that the separation of family ties causes but slight and transient grief, nothing more need be said to rouse every lover of his kind to eternal and uncompromising hostility to slavery. The peace of earth, if not the hopes of heaven, is founded upon the feelings which cluster around the family hearth. The violence which is done to these sacred safeguards of society, by turning men into marketable commodities, is the highest social crime. The guilt which is daily accumulated on this score, by the system of American slavery, is indescribably great. And blind or hard-hearted must be the man who dares to approach it with an apology. For chains, and yokes, and stocks, and the millions upon millions of brutal stripes, there might be some excuse or palliation ventured. If the hunger and nakedness, the hopeless toil and the bitter physical sufferings were the worst of slavery, it might perhaps be true that slaveholding would not be in all cases sinful. But these evils, huge and horrible as they are, are not the worst of slavery. The cause which has brought blighting and mildew upon southern hearts as well as southern fields, is *the turning of men into merchandise*. When such a principle as this, openly at war with all the relations which God has established between His creatures, and between Himself and them, stands out illustrated in the misery and and tears and blood and brutal degradation of millions, the slightest approach to an apology is sin. Any provision for innocent or Christian slaveholders, is as if Americans had sent food and clothing to the British army while Washington and his patriotic band were famishing

and freeing at Valley Forge. If there be men of kind hearts and good intentions involved in the support of the slave system, in view of the piled up horrors of this alpine curse, they have no right to claim exception from the general rebuke,—indeed their own natures should revolt from such a claim.

But slavery, it is said, is supported by the laws of the land: how then can it be *man-stealing*?—how can it be a crime? How and by whom were the laws which support slavery made? Did the slaves themselves have a voice in them? If they did not, on the principle for which our fathers spilt their blood, that taxation without representation is tyranny, these laws are tyrannous and wicked. They can give no sanction to slavery; on the contrary, they enhance its criminality, inasmuch as they amount to a conspiracy to steal men by system.

Again, we shall be referred to the Bible as sanctioning slavery;—hence it cannot be *man-stealing*. True, it is evident the Bible does not sanction *man-stealing*, for the Mosaic law ordains that “he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death,” (Ex. xxi, 16.) and the apostle Paul classes men-stealers with murderers, whoremongers and liars. (1 Tim. i, 9, 10.) Now if by this stealing of men we are to understand stealing of *slaves*, the Mosaic law was unjust, or at least flagrantly inconsistent with itself, for it punished the stealing of one kind of property with the restoration of four or five fold, and another with death. If slaves were held under the Mosaic law as property, why was not the stealing of a slave punished by obliging the thief to restore four or more slaves. The truth is, slave-stealing was not known to the Mosaic law because slaveholding itself was by that law a capital crime. The lawgiver did not trouble himself to punish the crime of one felon upon another. The servitude which was permitted by the law was not a chattel bondage but a voluntary and requited servitude. Those who were bought, whether of Jews or heathen, were bought of *themselves*, and that which they sold was not, as some absurdly imagine, the ownership of themselves, and their posterity for ever, but of their own labor for a longer or shorter time, and the longest time which the law allowed was forty-nine years.* It is only by foul play and downright torture that the

* The reader is referred for a full exposition of the doctrine of the Old Testament on slavery to an article in the Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine for April, 1857, entitled, “Is slavery from above or from beneath?” The Bible is there fully disabused of the iniquitous glosses which were put upon it by translators who lived during the flourishing of the African Slave-Trade.

Bible can be made to give the least countenance to slavery, and the most learned Doctors of Divinity and Biblical critics who have set themselves at work to defend slavery from that blessed book, have been obliged to confess that its doctrines would "ultimately destroy slavery."*

If slaveholding is really man-stealing, we have a few inferences to make.

1. The sooner it is left off the better. Honesty is certainly the best policy, whether on a large scale or a small one. Say what we will about established relations, no harm can come to any body by a return to simple honesty.

2. The only honest advice to slaveholders is, to "*quit stealing*," or as the apostle expressed it "let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labor, &c." By using soft language, by speaking of slaves as servants, by talking about constituted relations, &c., &c., we hide from the slaveholder the true nature of his actions. We do not place him where he belongs, at the head of the whole race of thieves. But there he must be placed both in the public opinion and his own before we can expect him to give up his sin.

3. If slaveholding is man-stealing, the good treatment bestowed

* See Professor Stuart's Letter to Dr. Fisk. (Emancipator for June 15th, 1837.) This learned critic holds the doctrine that man-stealing, though at the beginning criminal, may become innocent if persevered in for a sufficient time. This doctrine he distinctly avowed to us in letters from which we shall proceed to quote. In a letter, dated, "Andover, Feb. 3, 1834," he says, "Nothing can be more abhorrent from the genius of this blessed religion than the spirit and practice of slavery. But my belief is, that the great Head of the Church does not demand the instantaneous dissolution of all relations of this nature. WHEN THEY HAVE LONG EXISTED, and have been exhibiting even all their baneful influence." In another letter, dated, "Andover, 19th Feb., 1834," he says, "The real truth is, that the *original* act of enslaving a man, (except for crime,) is a gross misdeed—and does stand next to murder. But the relation once constituted, and, the fabric of Society being built up as interwoven with it, you cannot take out the texture at once without spoiling the cloth. You must weave a *new piece*—and do as well with the old one as you can. Is now the first time, that any indulgence has been thought expedient (and by heaven itself too,) because of the hardness of men's hearts!" We suppose the learned professor will admit that when Moses gave the Law of God from Sinai, the *man-stealing relation* was not yet established among the Israelites, of course he cannot pretend that that Law gave them any license to commit such a "misdeed." Whether he gets a sanction for the continuance of the "misdeed," after it should be "constituted" into a "relation," from the *Bible*, or from "*expediency*," remains for him to explain, and for our readers, in the meantime, to guess.

upon slaves is no extenuation of the crime. They are none the less stolen because they are made to fare sumptuously.

4. Slaveholding being identical with man-stealing the toleration of it in the churches of Christ, is disgraceful to Christianity.

There are few who will deny that the first act of enslaving a freeman is the crime which the apostle classed with murder, fornication, lying and perjury. It follows, for any thing we can see to the contrary, that the circumstances which are deemed to justify the toleration of slavery in the church, would in like manner tolerate the other crimes, if they were as prevalent and fashionable in the church. Suppose that half the church were composed of profane and lewd men wearing weapons of death which upon the slightest provocation they used for the destruction of their fellow-men. We should then have pious divines solemnly cautioning those who would agitate the subject of murder, not to disturb the peace of the church, and not to interfere with the appropriate use of the gospel, the conversion of souls. And we should have another set of anti-murder, anti-fornication, and anti-perjury men counselling against a separation from murderers, fornicators and perjurers, year after year, "till every effort to reclaim them has been tried—" holding on to the pie-bald church for the sake of exercising greater influence, &c. For our own part, if slavery is a sin of such magnitude as to deserve the epithet national, if it does indeed threaten the entire wreck of our social system, we do not see what more happy and glorious deliverance could come to the church of Christ than to be wholly and for ever separated from it. The well-being of a church surely does not consist in its extent and numbers, but in the purity of its doctrines and the uniformity and consistency with which they are lived up to. We do not see how the American churches as a body can possibly have any other influence than to retard the progress of Christianity, while they actually embosom and *cherish dishonesty and thievery.*

5. Those who oppose the doctrines of immediate emancipation lest the spread of them should lead to the dissolution of the Union, might as well oppose any other form of honesty lest it should lead to the same result. Government is administered and submitted to for the very purpose of protecting those precious rights of which slavery or man-stealing is the grossest violation. If then the government is not strong enough to bear the assertion of the rights it is made to protect, what is it good for? How much better is it than a wooden chimney in which a fire must not be kindled lest it should burn up? or rather a chimney of ice, to save the integrity of which no fire must be made in

the house? The truth is, that no government can endure with the rod of oppression in one hand and the sword of justice in the other. No government can be permanent which permits one class of thieves to ride in coaches and compels another to rot in jails. And if we have not mistaken the true nature of slavery, it will not only hold in check the progress of liberal politics among the nations, by its mischievous connection with our republican government, but it will drag our republicanism down to a premature and dishonorable grave.

TESTIMONY.

The following extracts will show that the view which has been taken of slavery in the preceding pages is not a novelty.

And [they] SOLD Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver; and they brought Joseph into Egypt.—*Genesis*, xxxvii, 28.

For indeed I was STOLEN away out of the land of the Hebrews.—*Genesis* xl, 15.

HE THAT STEALETH A MAN AND SELLETH HIM, OR IF HE BE FOUND IN HIS HAND, HE SHALL SURELY BE PUT TO DEATH.—*Exodus* xxi, 16.

JARCHI, a very eminent Jewish commentator, who wrote seven hundred years ago, thus comments on this passage:—"Using a man against his will, as a servant lawfully purchased; yea, though he should use his services ever so little, only to the value of a farthing, or use but his arm to lean on to support him, if he be FORCED so to act as a servant, the person compelling him but once to do so, shall die as a THIEF, whether he has sold him or not."

Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee.—*Deuteronomy* xxiii, 15.

PRESBYTERIAN CATECHISM.

Previous to the year 1818, the following comment stood as a note explanatory of the one hundred and forty-second question of the Larger Catechism of the celebrated "Westminster Assembly of Divines."

"1 Tim. i, 10. The law is made for men-stealers. This crime among the Jews exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment; *Exodus* xxi, 16; and the apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery or in retaining them in it. *Hominum fures, qui servos vel liberos abducunt, retinent, vendunt, vel emunt.* Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen, and keep, sell, or buy them. To steal a freeman, says Grotius, is the highest kind of theft. In other instances, we only steal human property, but when we steal or retain men in slavery, we seize those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant, lords of the earth.—*Genesis* i, 28. *Vide Poli synopsis in loc.*"

JUDGE BLACKSTONE.

"The three origins of the right of slavery assigned by Justinian are all built upon false foundations. 1. Slavery is said to arise from captivity in war. The conqueror having a right to the life of his captives, if he spares that, has a right to do with them as he pleases. But this is untrue, that by the laws of nations a man has a right to kill his enemy. He has only a right to kill him in cases of absolute necessity, for self-defence. And it is plain this absolute necessity did not subsist, since he did not kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation. Therefore it gives us no right over prisoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much less can it give a right to torture, or kill, or even enslave an enemy, when the war is over. Since, therefore, the right of making our prisoners slaves, depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence which is drawn from it, must fail likewise. 2. It is said, slavery may begin by one man's selling himself to another. It is true, a man may sell himself to work for another; but he cannot sell himself to be a slave, as above defined. Every sale implies an equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty? His property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves to his master the moment he becomes his slave: in this case, therefore, the buyer gives nothing. Of what validity then, can a law be, which destroys the very principle upon which all sales are founded. 3. We are told that men may be *born slaves*, by being the children of slaves. But this, being built upon the two former false claims, must fall with them. If neither captivity nor contract, by the plain law of nature and reason, can reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring."

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"To hold a slave, who has a right to his liberty, is not only a real crime, but a very great one. Does this conclusion seem strange to any of you? You will not deny that liberty is more valuable than property; and that it is a greater sin to deprive a man of his whole liberty during life, than to deprive him of his whole property; or, that *man-stealing* is a greater crime than *robbery*. Nor will you deny, that to hold in slavery a man who was *stolen*, is substantially the same crime as to *steal him*. These principles being undeniable, I leave it to yourselves to draw the plain and necessary consequence."

HENRY BROUGHAM.

"Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings, of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—

such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes; such it is at this day; it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man!"

JOHN WESLEY.

"*Men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers!* Indeed you say, 'I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how they are come by.' Nay, but you are: you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by: otherwise you are partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honest than he. But you know they are not honestly come by: you know they are procured by means *nothing near so innocent as picking pockets, house-breaking, or robbery upon the highway.* You know they are procured by a deliberate species of more complicated villany, of fraud, robbery and murder, than was ever practised by Mohammedans or Pagans; in particular, by murders of all kinds; by the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now it is *your* money that pays the African butcher. You therefore are principally guilty of all these frauds, robberies and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion. They would not stir a step without *you*: therefore the blood of all these wretches who die before their time lies upon *your* head. 'The blood of thy brother crieth against thee from the earth.' O whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late; instantly, at any price, were it half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! *Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house and thy lands at present are stained with blood.* Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt: spill no more the blood of the innocent. Do not hire another to shed blood; do not pay him for doing it. Whether you are a Christian or not, show yourself a man! Be not more savage than a lion or a bear!

"Perhaps you will say: 'I do not buy any slaves; I only use those left by my father.' But is that enough to satisfy your conscience? Had your father, have you, has any man living a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting revelation aside. Neither war nor contract can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible, that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature, as soon as he breathes the vital air: and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature. If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, to say nothing of mercy, or of the revealed law of God, render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice. Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion! Be gentle toward all men, and see that you invariably do unto every one, as you would he should do unto you."

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LETTER TO A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

DEAR SIR,—Suffer me to tell you a short story as an introduction to a very important subject to which I wish to call your attention.

Before the days of rail-roads, a pedler who was passing the Alleghany mountains with his commodious covered wagon, well stocked with a variety of wares, was suddenly arrested near the foot of one of those mighty ridges, by a piteous moan, which proceeded from a dense thicket in the ravine beneath the road. He instantly checked his rattling vehicle, and the sound was distinctly repeated. Pedler though he was, there was too much flesh in his heart to turn away from the cry of human distress; so, without heeding the danger of robbers, of which his knowledge of that wild and solitary road made him well aware, he turned his horse to the up-hill side, and making him fast to a projecting root, immediately clambered down the steep bank of the ravine. The object of his benevolent search was presently before him. Beside the stream which trickled down the gullied rocks, lay a man with his clothes torn and blood-smeared. He was a traveller who had been assaulted and wounded by robbers, thrown down the bank and left for dead, three days before. In the agony of his pain and fever he had crawled to the water to wet his parched lips. The stout pedler raised the poor fellow upon his shoulders and with some difficulty bore him up the steep bank and deposited him on a buffalo skin in his wagon. In the next house he doubted not he should find for him a hospital and good care, for surely no one would refuse to receive so pitiable an object. And right glad was our pedler, on emerging from the forest of the mountain side, to discover a house more than usually spacious, and which was evidently not unused to the accommodation of travellers, though it was not professedly a tavern. He knocked hastily at the door and was accosted by a good-looking personage, the proprietor of the house. "I have brought you," said the pedler, "a man who has been robbed and wounded on the highway, whom I found about a mile back, just ready to die; will you take him into your house and take care of him?" "No, I cannot," replied the good-look-

ing proprietor—"my house is devoted to the accommodation of select parties of gentlemen and ladies, and receiving this man might disturb some of my regular guests—besides it might involve me in a quarrel with the robbers—and yet furthermore, I deny your right to make any such demand of me. Why, if I admit this man at your request, I might be obliged to yield to the wishes of every vagabond and stroller who comes along." "I demand it only in the name of humanity," replied the pedler, "by whose laws you are bound, no less than myself; and I take the liberty to say, if you turn this poor stranger from your door, the curse of his God will rest upon you." Upon this, the poor wretch, whose festering wounds could ill bear a moment's delay of the requisite dressings, much less the harsh jolting of the wagon, groaned afresh, and the pedler drove on.

Having pursued this painful story far enough for my purpose, without disgracing human nature by affirming its truth, I take my leave of it. You will agree with me that the same humanity which required the pedler to take up the wounded traveller, made it equally the duty of the good-looking proprietor to receive him into his house; and this without at all disturbing his right as a proprietor to dispose of his house as he pleased. Civilly, or as regarded the laws of the land, he had a right to shut his doors, but, morally, or as regarded duty to God, and love to man, he had not. If we are agreed, then, upon the principle that *extreme suffering constitutes a claim upon those who have the power to relieve it*, let me proceed to advocate the claim of two and a half millions of American slaves to be preached for and prayed for, in every American pulpit.

1. *The sufferings of the slaves are sufficient to call forth the utmost exertions for their relief.*

To estimate their sufferings aright, we must first consider that they are MEN. They are born with the same constitutions, powers, passions, desires, and susceptibilities as ourselves. Even supposing them unconscious of their bondage, as a man born deaf is of sounds, or one born blind is of colors, we ought to pity them as much as we do the deaf and the blind; but they are not unconscious. Their smiles are not the smiles of contentment but of hypocrisy. In the language of George Horton, himself a slave, "they languish to be free." Said that poet in chains,

"Oh, Liberty! thou golden prize,
So often bought by blood—
We crave thy sacred sun to rise,
The gift of nature's God!

"Bid slavery hide her haggard face,
And barbarism fly:
*I scorn to see the sad disgrace
In which enslaved I lie.*"*

Says James Bradley, a self-emancipated slave, "My master had kept me ignorant of every thing he could. I was never told any thing about God or my own soul. Yet from the time I was fourteen years old, I used to think a great deal about freedom. It was my heart's desire; I could not keep it out of my mind. Many a sleepless night I have spent in tears *because I was a slave*. I looked back on all I had suffered—and when I looked ahead, all was dark and hopeless bondage."† Such is slave-testimony in regard to the contentment of slaves under the kindest of masters. We might quote much more to the same effect, and vastly more still might be had but for the obvious policy, which slaves are not slow to learn, of concealing their discontent, not only from their masters, but from the whole world. To such concealment many of them have been indebted for the opportunity to secure their freedom. We may, then, fairly put ourselves in the place of the slaves, and measure their feelings by the sensibilities of our own hearts. How should we feel under the laws to which the slaves are subjected—laws regarding us as *men* only for the better security of the interests of others, but *brutes* in relation to all interests of our own? Could we calmly contemplate our destiny and that of our children, to the latest generation, dependent upon the will and good pleasure of whatever despot accident may have made the purchaser of our bodies? What would avail kindness, if we must be slaves? What would avail good treatment, if it all hung upon the thread of a master's life? What would it avail us to fare sumptuously every day, if we must be deprived of self-respect, and regard ourselves as mere appendages of another? Slavery, at the very best, has something in it from which we recoil with horror. Its whole atmosphere is tainted with death to the soul. If it have joys, they are like the mirth that is sometimes seen amidst the groans of a great pest-house,—they are like the pleasure that showed itself in the prisons of Paris in the days of Robespierre. The great object of holding slaves is *gain*. Every hour of extra labor that can be extorted from the slave, and every yard of cloth and pound of food that can be withheld from him, is so much clear gain to the master. "The end of slavery," says Judge Ruffin of North Carolina, "*is the profit of the master*. The slave is doomed in his person and his posterity,

* See "Poems by a slave," for sale at the Anti-Slavery office

† Mrs. Child's Oasis, page 106.

to live without knowledge and without capacity to make any thing his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits."* We have the testimony of the Rev. James Smylie, in his defence of slavery, that this is the case with the slaves of the great body of even professedly pious slaveholders. Such do not scruple to hold slaves *for the sake of gain*. Says Mr. Smylie, "If slavery be a sin, and if advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the divine law, and if the buying, selling, or holding a slave, *for the sake of gain*, is a heinous sin and scandal, then, verily, *three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in eleven states of the Union*, are of the devil. They 'hold,' if they do not buy and sell slaves, and, *with few exceptions*, they hesitate not to 'apprehend and restore' runaway slaves, when in their power." What then must be the condition of the poor wretches delivered over by the law to the absolute, irresponsible control of men who not only covet gain, but a great deal of it—whose outgoes are always eating up their incomes and crying, More, more! Imagination is too feeble to paint, and language too poor to describe the misery which is the necessary and actual consequence of this hideous system. Said Mr. Swain of North Carolina, in a public address, in 1830, and *his* testimony does not admit of doubt.

"Let any man of spirit and feeling, for a moment cast his thoughts over this land of slavery—think of the *nakedness* of some, the *hungry yearnings* of others, the *flowing tears* and *heaving sighs* of parting relations, the *waitings* and *wo*, the *bloody cut* of the *keen lash*, and the *frightful scream* that *rends the very skies*—and all this to gratify ambition, lust, pride, avarice, vanity, and other depraved feelings of the human heart. . . . **THE WORST IS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN.** Were all the miseries, the horrors of slavery, to burst at once into view, a peal of seven-fold thunder could scarce strike greater alarm."

I need not resort to tales of special horror; I need not take the testimony of fugitive slaves, nor even of travellers opposed to the system, there is enough even in testimony of slaveholders themselves, and the incidental disclosures of men whose interests bind them to favor the system, to make out a case for compassion as strong as that of the man who fell among thieves and was left weltering in his blood by the wayside. Even admitting all to be true which is claimed by the apologists of slavery, as to the general kind treatment of the slaves, you can have no doubt that there must still exist in individual cases so great an

* STATE vs. MANN. 2 Devereaux North Car. Reports 203.

excess of human misery chargeable to the principle of holding men as property, that it ought to be abandoned.

— But why should I dwell on physical suffering? With your views of the worth and dignity of the immortal soul of man, there is an aspect of American bondage upon which you must look with ten-fold horror. Why have you spurned wealth, and ease, and popular favor to preach the gospel of Christ? Because you regard the interests of the soul as infinitely superior to those of the body. It is upon the soul you see the image of the all-wise and eternal God; it is there that you see folded up a germ of being which may be drawn out by right culture, and which will expand in glory and honor and power when this world shall be remembered but as a dream. You feel certain that this glorious and wonderful structure of mind must be peculiarly dear to Him who made it—that He must regard it as the crowning excellence and chief end of his lower creation, that He must be jealous of encroachments upon its rights, and perversions of the high faculties with which He has endowed it, to base and unworthy purposes. Your regard, then, both for God and man, will impel you to take a deep interest in the subject of human bondage. All physical sufferings will sink out of sight in comparison of the degradation and blight of the soul when it becomes the mere animating principle of a money-getting machine. You will feel that a most horrible crime is committed, when you see the basest selfishness shutting out from the human spirit all the sacred influences and responsibilities which God has provided to train, enlarge, ripen, and glorify it! You will see, in the southern slave-laws, daggers for the murder of the soul; and the dead and wounded you will find equal in number to the whole enslaved population.

Hence the slaves have upon you, as a minister of the gospel, peculiar and imperative claims. Your Master came into this world on purpose to preach good news to the poor, to bind up the *broken-hearted*, restore sight to the *blind*, deliver the *captives*, and set at liberty the *bruised*. No victim of physical suffering crossed his path unblest. While his benignant smile and gracious promise kindled hope for the future, his kind, brotherly hand soothed the anguish of the present. What right have you to call yourself his minister, if you do not make the case of the poor, bruised, broken-hearted captives as much your own as if they were your own mother's children? What right have you to profess yourself a Christian laborer for the salvation of souls, when you can look unmoved upon the wholesale destruction of souls?

Again, the succor of the wronged is a duty which we owe to the

human race. Society would justly consider the man who should turn from his door the poor wounded stranger, as its enemy—an aider and abettor of robbery. There is no neutrality in such a case. Neither can there be in the case of slavery. It is a crime against society at large. The enslavement of one man nurtures passions and creates and strengthens appetites, or, as they are sometimes called, necessities, which are dangerous to the liberty of others. The fashion of living upon the labor of others, and especially of using others as mere tools, is one which cannot remain stationary. It is rapidly aggressive. It stops at no geographical line, at no determinate sum, at no hue of the skin. It is a gangrene in the social system, and if not absolutely and entirely removed, it must corrupt and destroy the whole. If there were to be landed on our shores a thousand missionaries from some old European despotism, with the design to persuade our fellow citizens that labor is disreputable, and that to avoid it a man may wrest from his neighbor, wife, and children, and liberty; if they should privately and publicly preach that some form of slavery or other is absolutely necessary to the well-being of the social system, and that the gospel, so far from requiring every man to earn his own living, by his own labor, authorizes one part of mankind to live on the labor of the other, you would consider the morality of the nation most seriously invaded. You would feel yourself called upon, as a minister of the true gospel, to sound the note of warning, in the pulpit and out of it. You would pronounce such doctrines destructive of all the objects of religion, and ruinous to the soul. Yet there is a vastly more formidable host preaching the same doctrines, or promulgating them by an example a thousand times more powerful than preaching. Yes, we have lived to see such doctrines boldly avowed, both in the senate chamber and the pulpit; and long have they been preached more effectually, though less honestly, not only in the senate and the pulpit, but in all our colleges, and seminaries, in our steamboats, stages, and hotels, in our ball-rooms, and theatres, in our counting-houses and parlors, and, in short, wherever slaveholders with their fascinating manners and cheap-bought liberality, have mingled with us. Thousands of northern men, too, have imbibed these doctrines at the South, where they have partaken of the plunder, and learned to admire the plunderers. So fearfully have the converts multiplied, and so deep and powerful is the sympathy with the robber-missionaries, that there is hardly a city or village in the land where their doctrines can be contradicted and their wickedness exposed without provoking an outburst of brutal and

unlawful violence! But need I argue this point? Are you the man who need be told that the moral influence of crime cannot be confined to the criminal? that two and a half millions cannot be robbed of their manhood without bringing guilt and pollution upon all who acquiesce in the wrong, or who knowing it, do not lift a finger to right it?

In the next place, not only is the case one which demands the interference of the ministers of the gospel, but it is one which is placed within their control. Both the friends and the enemies of the pulpit attribute to it great power. It is not because abolitionists undervalue the pastoral office that they are so earnest to enlist ministers in the cause of the slave, but because they estimate very highly its dignity and weight. It is in the power of the pulpit to put an end to the system of slavery. The formation of public sentiment on moral and religious subjects is to a great extent the work of ministers of the gospel. But on this subject, so obvious and unanswerable are the arguments for equal rights and immediate emancipation, they have only to open their mouths for the truth, and the work is done. They have indeed little to do but to withdraw the support which they have given; for most lamentable is the truth, that the silent acquiescence and oftentimes express approval of the Christian ministry has done more to sustain and perpetuate slavery than any other cause. Without their support, neither laws, nor talents, nor wealth, nor wickedness could have sustained it. From the sacred armory of the pulpit have been stolen the only defences which have been of any avail to keep off the shafts of truth. Our most determined and wary opponents are obliged to admit that the gospel will *ultimately* overthrow slavery. The position that the gospel can take root and produce its fruit from age to age in the midst of chattel-bondage, is too monstrous to be adventured by any one who cares much for the reputation of believing the gospel. No, the one system or the other must conquer at last; and our pro-slavery divines tell us that the gospel will infallibly do so in the *long run*! Why do they make such an admission? Because they are conscious that there is that in the gospel which if faithfully applied and honestly lived up to, will destroy slavery wherever it touches it, and as *fast* as it touches it. I take this admission as very strong evidence of great anti-slavery power in the gospel. The class of men who make it, have every motive to deny the contrariety of the gospel to slavery, for if there be any such contrariety they are demonstrably guilty. For under their administration of the gospel, these many years back, it is plain to the world that slavery has been constantly

and rapidly increasing. The truth is, the only reason why the progress of things has not been the other way, is, that the gospel has not *applied*; it is not the fault of the gospel, but of the ministers. If early preachers of the gospel had acted towards idolatry as the American churches have towards slavery, we should be bowing down day to painted billets of wood—Christians perhaps in name and the but pagans in practice. It was only because they made no compromise with the popular superstition, that they overthrew it. Suppose Paul had only asked of the Athenians to admit the Living and God to a place among their *thirty thousand*, had organized church idolaters and contented himself with the notion that, as the spirit the gospel was so hostile to idolatry, being once introduced and he gained foothold in Athens, it would soften down, modify and finally out and bring to nothing the worship of false gods in that enlightened city! Would he have succeeded? Our common sense supplies with an answer. But when he stood alone on Mars' Hill and set the simple truth, and sought to draw men utterly away from foolish worship of "gold, silver, or stone, graven by art and device," our hearts tell us that in the TRUTH he had an irresistible power, and we hardly need the sacred historian to say "certain men clave unto him." we know they must have done so, we know too that a multitude who did not, were inwardly convicted of the sin and folly of their ways. Now the gospel, *operating in the same way*, is equally powerful against slavery. It reveals to us relation and duty of man to man, no less plainly than the relation and duty of man to his God. It enjoins an immediate fulfilment of the relation, in the one case not less than in the other. The act in obedience to its golden rule is death to the relation of man as owner to a chattel. Such was the blaze of light in which this truth was placed by the preaching and conduct of the apostle that the question whether a Christian had a right to continue a slaveholder, was considered too absurd to be asked. It was taken for granted, as the merest matter of course, that masters after their conversion would not hold their servants as slaves.* Hence early Cl

* Had our present version of the New Testament been made before the hallowed era of African slavery, my assertion would probably have been backed up by 1 Tim. vi, 2, a passage which is now perfectly unintelligible. I say *boldly*, for I know not what but a willingness to soothe the conscience of their master in licensing the *merchandise* of men, could have warped translators, and so clear-sighted, from a plain and obvious meaning into bald nonsense.

tianity, though it had other and more difficult work to do, did overthrow slavery whenever it gained a foothold, sweeping away the unnatural relation, wherever it went, and bringing master and servant together on the level of a common brotherhood. I speak now of the reality of slavery, not of the name by which slaves as well as other servants were generally called, that word in its general import meant nothing unfair or dishonorable!

Why should not the gospel, *applied in the same way*, have the same power now that it had then? I cannot but believe it would produce the same effect in far less time, for now it has not so many other great obstacles to encounter. Its other opponents, have in a great measure left the field, and its whole power may now be brought upon this one enemy. Men have not to be convinced of the existence of one only living and true God, of the resurrection and the coming judgment. All these points are fully admitted. The sinfulness of slaveholding is but the next necessary link in the chain of truth.

But my dear sir, it is absolutely essential to success, that the gospel should be *applied as it was by the apostles*. With all our boasts about the holiness and power of our religion for these two or three hundred years past, it is plain slavery has been winning an easy victory over it, and that it has long been as powerless to help the slave as he has been to help himself. Slaveholders have been admitted to the church, and slavery has been justified from the Bible! In this case, what could the Church do, and what could the Bible do? Could the Church preach one thing and practice another? Were the anti-slavery principles of the Bible worth a straw, while slaveholders were allowed an inch or a hair's breadth of space in its hallowed precincts? No. If there were one sentence in the Bible admitting slavery, there might be ten thousand against it without any other effect than that of confounding itself. The first thing to be done, to place ourselves

apostle advised servants who had "believing masters" to serve them, simply because they were now *faithful, beloved* men, and would well reward **THEIR SERVICE**,—a very good reason indeed. But the translators, not only without authority but against authority, make the apostle give such advice, because the masters were "*partakers of the benefit*,"—a reason which is no reason, for surely a man's being a partaker of one benefit already, is no reason why I should confer upon him another by my service! To make the language of the apostle intelligible, we are driven to the supposition that *he took it for granted that a believing master would be the best pay-master of his servants*, and truly an apostle has a right to be understood when he uses plain Greek.—See Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine, Vol. I. page 361.

where Paul and Peter stood, is either to cast slavery out of the church, or to organise the church anew so as to hold no fellowship with it, and to show that the Bible does not in any sentence, word, or syllable, afford to the slaveholder any justification whatever. Taking this outset we might go on from conquest to conquest, leaving no enemies in our rear, having no traitors in our camp. The success of the gospel, thus arrayed against slavery, would be beyond any thing that has been seen in our days, for the attitude which its preachers have taken on this subject has paralyzed their energies and hindered their success on every other—which leads me to another topic.

The shutting of the pulpit to the claims of the slave, and its sycofaney to the slaveholder, have brought deep reproach upon the gospel. Who of all the enemies of Christ does not know that his religion claims to be the friend of the friendless, that it professes to level pride and send the highest of the high down to the side of the meanest victim of oppression? Well would it be, says the scoffer, if it worked so. But every scoffer knows that it does not, and with a laugh of bitter scorn points to the poor neglected slave for the proof. Sea and land they will compass, he says, to make one proselyte, and add to the glory of their church, but if ease, and popularity, and safety, and money are to be spent to raise the poor bruised captive from his prison house, they are on the other side of the way. More candid minds, too, are afflicted with painful doubts, when they see that the Christian religion with all its solemn motives and awful sanctions gets no practical hold of the hearts and lives of its professors. Can it be, says the wary inquirer, that a religion is from God which leaves the mind dead to such enormous wrong? Can that instrumentality be designed to reclaim the world from sin, which utterly overlooks the most enormous of sins with which it is placed in absolute contact? What wonder when the case is pitiable enough to call angels from their spheres, and to make the very rocks weep; and when the wrong is outrageous enough to make the stoutest tremble for the foundations of social happiness; and when the gospel ministry have in their hands the power to assuage the woe and check the wrong, and will not use it,—what wonder, I say, if the wicked triumph over the gospel, and the weak and doubting despair of it? And what wonder if God should forsake such a ministry? Have we not found it hard to account for the smallness of the success which has attended all modern efforts to spread the gospel in foreign parts? What a world of ado has been made to convert the heathen, and after all how little has been done! How long would the little

christian lights that have been kindled by American missionaries continue to burn, if the missionaries were to be recalled? Perhaps it would not to be very unreasonable to expect that the dark waves of heathenism would roll over them all, in less than five years! Why, the forces now in the missionary field, at the outset of Christianity, would have given the death-blow to paganism in every country which they have visited. But if any suppose that I underrate the success of missionary labors, they will still agree with me that it has been very small compared with the expense of life and means. The frown of God seems to be upon it, for some reason or other. And for what reason is it, I ask, if not because the church has sided with the oppressor—has passed by the poor wounded man, on the other side? God will not suffer so hard-hearted a gospel to overspread the earth. He will not give success to such a base, cringing, time-serving gospel. He reserves the final triumphs over idolatry, obscenity and blood, to a church with pure hands, and to a humane, self-denying, open-hearted, uncalculating, uncompromising gospel. He will not set religion afloat without good morals, nor give currency to the mischievous lie, that holiness can flourish without honesty!

After what I have said, you will not be surprised at what I am going to demand of you as a minister of Christ. A passing notice of slavery in your sermons and prayers, though you should take the right ground, is not sufficient. Remember this is a crisis hour, that the sin of slavery has brought us to the verge of destruction, that it is not confined to the South, nor to the form in which it exists at the South, and that to dislodge and rout it, is the most difficult victory the gospel has now to achieve. You will need, then, to gird yourself to the work, with an eye on all its parts, and means, and difficulties, and a heart resolved to measure your faithfulness to the gospel by your faithfulness to the slave. You will find yourself unfolding in his behalf the second table of the law, and making his case the test and touchstone of obedience, both to the second and the first. You will find yourself so preaching, even when you do not mention the slave or slavery, that no one will hesitate to say that you preach an anti-slavery sermon. You will carry out your principles, from the sundering of chains to the severing of the cord of caste. Being thoroughly convinced that the church has sinned grievously by its silence, and its participation, you will act as though the first object was a thorough reform. In short, you will be an active and uncompromising and always-abounding anti-slavery man. You will not need to be urged forward by an Anti-Slavery Society or lecturer, but

you will rather by your whole weight of character and influence, and time and eloquence, urge forward the Anti-Slavery Society and its lecturers to attempt great things. You will feel that the anti-slavery work is *your* work by the very vows of your ordination, and that the society is only the means of uniting all, of every name and sect, upon an object which is too wide to be confined to any one sect.

The great mass of ministers, of all denominations, you will agree with me, come far short of meeting my demands, even when they profess to take sides with the slave. I wish to call your attention to some of the arguments by which they seek to justify their opposition, their standing aloof, or their weak and spiritless advocacy of the abolition cause.

1. The Anti-Slavery Society is not an ecclesiastical body, and of course has no right to dictate to the churches. To yield to its sway and be carried away in its excitement, would be to compromise the liberty of the churches. What! has any self-constituted body of men a right to dictate to the ministers of the gospel what they shall preach and what they shall not preach?

Certainly not. No such right is claimed by the Anti-Slavery Society. It simply claims the right to place before every church, and every minister, and every man, *the reasons* why they should instantly exert their whole influence, whether preaching or praying, acting or talking, in behalf of the slave. Is this an invasion of ecclesiastical liberty? Has not even every individual a right to publish his opinion of the duty of ministers and churches; and is he not, in some cases, solemnly bound to do it.

Some ministers complain because abolitionists insist that they ought to admit anti-slavery lecturers to their pulpits, and read anti-slavery notices, and denounce them as opposers because they do not. They say that in so doing, these abolitionists invade their gospel liberty, and support the doctrine that a minister must open his pulpit doors to every person who comes along. But the abolitionists do no such thing. They do not insist that ministers should pursue the course they ask, *without good reasons*, but they insist that the reasons *are* good. They say that the anti-slavery lecturers, with, perhaps a very few exceptions, ought to have been welcomed to their pulpits, as men well qualified to plead for this holy cause. They say that whether a minister is bound to read every notice or not, the anti-slavery cause has a claim upon him for such aid, which he cannot set aside, either in his own
(See cover, 2d page.)

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WHOLE No. 35.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE UNDER THE
AUTHORITY OF CONGRESS.*

The Federal Constitution invests congress with power to "make all needful rules and regulations," respecting the territories belonging to the United States—to "exercise exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever" over the District of Columbia,—and "to regulate commerce among the several states."

The territory of Florida at the last census contained 15,501 slaves. Abolitionists, regarding slavery as unjust, cruel, and sinful, have petitioned congress to make such needful rules and regulations respecting that territory, as shall relieve it from so baneful an institution. If this prayer proves them to be fanatics, incendiaries, and nullifiers, they are at a loss to understand why these epithets have never been applied to the congress of 1787, for enacting that in the territory north-west of the Ohio "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted"—nor to the congress of 1799, which, while the constitution still authorized the *states* to import slaves, made "rules and regulations" for giving immediate emancipation to every slave that might be introduced into the *territory* of Mississippi from beyond the limits of the United States†—nor to the congress of 1820, for enacting "that in all that *territory* ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, not included within the limits of the state of Missouri, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby for ever prohibited."

It is also extraordinary that RUFUS KING should have ventured in 1819 to utter the following language in the United States' Senate, "The power to make all needful regulations, includes the power to determine what regulations are needful, and if a regulation prohibiting slavery within any territory of the United States be (*as it has been*) deemed needful, congress possess the power to make the same, and moreover to pass all laws necessary to carry this power into execution." Equally extraordinary is it that DANIEL WEBSTER should have set his name to a document asserting that "the power of congress over its own

* This tract is one of the chapters of an enlarged edition of JAY'S INQUIRY, now preparing for the press, which the author has kindly allowed us to publish in advance.—ED.

† See act of April, 1799.

territories, is by the very terms of the constitution *unlimited*. If in its judgment it be needful for the benefit of a territory to enact a prohibition of slavery, it would seem to be as much within its power of legislation as any other ordinary act of legislation."*

The power of congress over its territories is enlarged, if possible, in relation to the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA by the peculiar phraseology of the constitution. The authority of the British parliament over its colonies, however great, is still limited, and a claim to "exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever," would produce a rebellion. Yet such is the jurisdiction expressly and unequivocally granted over the District. Let us see to what minute subjects this jurisdiction is actually applied. "The United States have ever claimed absolute and exclusive property in the streets. Their claim has been sustained by a grave decision of the Supreme Court, from which it appears that the United States may close the streets improved at our expense, sell the land, and place the proceeds in the public treasury."—*Memorial of the corporation of the city of Washington to congress*, 16 Dec., 1835.

On the 24th May, 1826, congress passed a law permitting the corporations of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, to subscribe for stock in the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. Congress imposes taxes on the District, appoints magistrates, regulates the fees of office, builds bridges, macadamizes roads, incorporates Banks, Colleges, and Medical Societies; gives mechanics a lien on the buildings they erect, and prescribes the powers of city corporations. What ingenuity, then, can frame a plausible argument against its power to regulate or interdict property in human beings on its own soil; a power claimed and exercised in a greater or less degree by the legislature of every slave state in the Union?

If congress does not possess this power, certainly no other government does, and the District presents the singular spectacle of a civilized community in which a portion of the inhabitants may be subjected to every imaginable outrage, and utterly denied all legal protection; and to crown the revolting absurdity, this state of things is rendered perpetual by the absence of any authority to change it. But it is said by northern politicians eager for southern votes, that although congress possess the constitutional power to abolish slavery in the district, good faith forbids its exercise, because had Virginia and Maryland supposed this power would ever be exercised, they would not have made the cessions which now form the District.

It would be indeed a singular argument before a court of justice for the recovery of an estate that had been unconditionally conveyed in fee, that the owner did not improve it in the manner the grantor had expected. But the plea is as false as it is invalid. The constitution was adopted before the cessions were made, and we find in the debates respecting it in the Virginia convention, that the extent of the jurisdiction to be exercised by congress over the proposed District was clearly understood—we give a few extracts from the speeches.

MR. GEORGE MASON. "Thought there were few clauses in the

* Memorial of the citizens of Boston drafted by a committee of which Mr. Webster was chairman, and signed by him.

constitution so dangerous as that which gave congress exclusive power of legislation within the ten miles square. This clause gave them *unlimited authority in every possible case in the District.*"

MR. GRAYSON. "Unless you consider the ten miles square as a state, persons bound to labor, who shall escape therein, will not be delivered up, for they are only to be delivered up after they shall have escaped into a *state*. After mature deliberation he could not find that the ten miles square was to be looked upon even as part of a state, but to be *totally independent of all*, subject to the exclusive legislation of congress."

MR. PATRICK HENRY. "Congress have a right, by this clause, to make a law that such a district shall be set apart for *any* purpose they please, and that any man who shall act contrary to their commands within the ten miles square shall be hanged."—*Elliott's illustrations of Federal Constitution.*

We are not aware that the most "reckless" abolitionists have ever given to the "exclusive jurisdiction" a more *liberal* construction than did these distinguished Virginians, and yet our craven statesmen would fain persuade us that it never occurred to the people of Virginia and Maryland, that this jurisdiction might one day be exercised for the protection of the inalienable rights of man! True it is, they did not object to the extent of jurisdiction *because* it might be favorable to human liberty. Men, women, and children, were not then the staple exports of Virginia and Maryland, and it is only since the cultivation of cotton, that our land has been afflicted with pro-slavery politicians and divines. No Virginia statesman at *that day* would have dared to object to this clause because it gave congress power to abolish slavery in the District. In the very convention in which Patrick Henry complained of the unlimited grant of jurisdiction, he exclaimed, speaking of slavery, "I repeat it again, that it would rejoice my very soul, that every one of my fellow beings was emancipated;" and we are all familiar with Jefferson's denunciations of slavery. Washington also declared that he would never purchase another slave, and that he would give his suffrage for the abolition of slavery by legislative authority. William Pinckney in 1789, pronounced in the Maryland House of Delegates, an eloquent and indignant invective against slavery, exclaiming, "In the name of God should we not attempt to wipe away this stigma, as far as the impressions of the times will allow? If we dare not strain legislative authority so as to root up the evil at once, let us do all we dare, and lop the exuberance of its branches. I would sooner temporize than do nothing. At least we should show our wishes by it."

To talk about the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia half a century after its cession, being a *breach of faith* towards those who made the cession, is to insult the revolutionary patriots of the South by bringing them down to the moral level of the lynch clubs and politicians of the present day. And is it one of the innumerable charges against abolitionists that *they* are soliciting congress to perpetrate this breach of faith? Alas for the morality of our country! multitudes participate in their guilt. In 1838, eleven hundred *inhabitants of the*

District petitioned congress for the gradual abolition of slavery among them. The same year the Legislature of Pennsylvania instructed their members of congress to procure, if possible, an act abolishing the system. In 1829, the House of Representatives directed the committee of the District to "inquire into the *expediency* of providing by law for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District." The same year the New York assembly voted to instruct the members of congress from that state "to *make every possible exertion*," to effect the passage of a law for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

In 1836, the Legislature of Vermont "RESOLVED, that congress do possess the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia."

In 1837, the Massachusetts Senate "RESOLVED, that congress having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possess the right to abolish slavery and the slave-trade therein, and that the early exercise of such right is demanded by the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world, by the principles of the revolution, and by humanity."

Not only is slavery in the District maintained by the authority of congress, but under the same authority free men are converted into slaves by a process, which for shameful injustice and enormous wickedness, has no parallel in the despotisms of Russia or Turkey. Any justice of the peace in the city of Washington, may, on no other evidence than a dark complexion, cause a free citizen to be immured in the United States' prison on the charge of being *suspected* of being a fugitive slave. Notice is then given in the newspapers of his commitment, and his *master* is required to take away his property. But being free, no master of course releases him from his dungeon, and after the expiration of a certain number of days, his prison doors are thrown open, and he is led forth to the auction stand, and there sold as a slave for life to pay his JAIL FEES, in other words, to put money into the pockets of United States' officers. This horrible atrocity is not of unfrequent occurrence, and congress decline all action respecting it. And now we ask, is it for protesting against such abominations, and for maintaining the right of congress to abolish slavery at the seat of the federal government that Chancellor Walworth and his associates have held up the abolitionists to public indignation?

THE AMERICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

There was a time when the traffic in human flesh was deemed odious, and even now, colonization orators occasionally find it expedient to speak very disrespectfully of the *African* slave-trade, but at this day, who presumes to utter a murmur against the AMERICAN SLAVE-TRADE, except "a few wretched fanatics?" The capital of the proudest republic in the world, is the *depot* of a mighty commerce in the souls and bodies of men—a commerce under the immediate control and protection of a government which with wonderful effrontery, dared to insert in a solemn treaty the hypocritical declaration, "Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both His Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best

endeavors to accomplish so desirable an object.* But even this cant loses its baseness, compared with the turpitude of condemning to *death* as a *PIRATE*, the man who buys a savage in Africa, and sells him in Washington, and yet granting in the same city, licenses at four hundred dollars each, to buy and sell native Americans "for profit!"†

Before entering into details respecting the American traffic, it may be well to remark that the competition of free with slave labor, in the bread-stuffs and other productions of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, had greatly diminished the value of slaves, and promised to prepare the way for general emancipation at no distant day. But the rapid extension of the cotton and sugar cultivation, and the settlement of the new states at the south and west, gave to the northern slaves a value as articles of export, which they did not possess as laborers. The three states we have mentioned, denied by their climate the privilege of growing cotton and sugar, have, of late years, vigorously prosecuted the business of breeding slaves for the southern market. The District of Columbia from its central situation became a convenient depot for the slaves collected from the surrounding country; while the absence of state control, and the non-interference of congress gave to the factories established in the national domain, as unlimited power over the treatment and stowage of their human cattle, as could be enjoyed on the coast of Guinea.

In 1829, Mr. Miner, a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, introduced a resolution directing the committee on the District, to "inquire into the *SLAVE-TRADE* as it exists and is carried on through the District, and that they report to the house such amendments to the existing laws as shall seem to them to be just." In his speech on the occasion many appalling facts were disclosed. It appeared that in the last five years, independent of the factory prisons in the District, *seven hundred and forty-two* colored people had been committed to the jail in Washington. And were these persons accused or convicted of crime? *Not one*. Four hundred and fifty-two were lodged in the UNITED STATES' PRISON for safe keeping prior to exportation, and *two hundred and ninety* were imprisoned on suspicion, real or affected, of being fugitive slaves, and if not claimed as such, were to be sold as *SLAVES FOR LIFE* to raise money to pay *JAIL FEES TO UNITED STATES' OFFICERS*.

Of the practical operation of a system sanctioned by the laws of congress, take the following example. "Visiting the prison," says Mr. Miner, "and passing through the avenues that lead to the cells, I was struck with the appearance of a woman having three or four children with her—one at the breast. She presented such an aspect of woe that I could not help inquiring her story. It was simply this, she was a slave, but had married a man who was free. By him she had eight or nine children. Moved by natural affection, the father had labored to support the children, but as they attained an age to be valuable in the *market*, perhaps ten or twelve, the master sold them—

* Treaty with Great Britain, 24th Dec., 1814.

† Law of the city of Washington, passed 28th July, 1831.

one after another was taken away and sold to the slave-dealers. She had come to an age to be no longer profitable as a breeder, and her master had separated her from her husband, and sent her and her children to your prison for sale." As illustrative of the horrors of this traffic, Mr. Miner informed the house of an incident that occurred during the previous session of congress. A free colored man had married a slave; with the avails of his industry he had, in the course of some years, purchased the freedom of his wife and children. He left home on business, and on his return found his house tenantless. His wife and children had been kidnapped by the slave-dealers, and it was afterwards discovered, that they had first been confined in a factory-prison at Alexandria, and then sent to a distant market.

So long ago as 1802, the grand jury of Alexandria presented the slave-trade in the district as a grievance. "These dealers in the persons of our fellow men," says the jury, "collect within this district from various parts, numbers of these victims of slavery, and lodge them in some place of confinement, until they have completed their numbers. They are then turned out in our streets, and exposed to view, *loaded with chains*, as though they had committed some heinous offence against our laws. We consider it as a grievance that citizens from distant parts of the United States should be permitted to come within the District and pursue a traffic fraught with so much misery to a class of beings entitled to our protection by the laws of justice and humanity; and that the interposition of civil authority cannot be had to prevent parents being wrested from their offspring, and children from their parents, without respect to the ties of nature. We consider these grievances demanding legislative redress,"—that is, redress by congress.

In 1816, Judge Morell of the Circuit Court of the United States, in his charge to the grand jury of Washington, remarked, speaking of the slave-trade, "The frequency with which the streets of the city had been crowded with *manacled captives*, sometimes on the *Sabbath*, could not fail to shock the feelings of all humane persons; that it was repugnant to the spirit of our political institutions, and the rights of man, and he believed was calculated to impair the public morals by familiarizing scenes of cruelty to the minds of youth." Should a judge *now* venture to express such sentiments in Washington, he would probably be *lynched* as an incendiary. The same year, the House of Representatives, on motion of JOHN RANDOLPH, appointed a committee "to inquire into the existence of an inhuman and illegal traffic of slaves carried on in, and through the District of Columbia, and report whether any, and what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same." This traffic is now far more extensive and far more lucrative than it was in 1819, and *now*, it is contrary to the rules of the house to consider any proposition relating to slavery!

The Alexandria Gazette of June 22d, 1827, thus describes the scenes sanctioned by our republican and christian congress. "Scarcely a week passes without some of these wretched creatures being driven through our streets. After having been confined and sometimes manacled in a loathsome prison, they are turned out in public view, to take their departure for the South. The children and some of the women are

generally crowded into a cart or wagon, while others follow on foot, not unfrequently *hand-cuffed and chained together*. Here you may behold fathers and brothers leaving behind them the dearest objects of affection, and moving slowly along in the mute agony of despair—there the young mother sobbing over the infant whose innocent smiles seem but to increase her misery. From some you will hear the burst of bitter lamentation, while from others the loud hysteric laugh breaks forth, denoting still deeper agony.”

In 1823, a petition for the suppression of this trade, was presented to congress signed by more than *one thousand inhabitants of the District*.

In 1830, the “Washington Spectator” thus gave vent to its indignation.

“THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE CAPITAL.

“Let it be known to the citizens of America, that at the very time when the procession which contained the President of the United States and his cabinet, was marching in triumph to the capitol, another kind of procession was marching another way; and that consisted of colored human beings, *hand-cuffed* in pairs, and driven along by what had the appearance of a *man* on horseback! A similar scene was repeated on Saturday last; a drove consisting of males and females, *chained in couples*, starting from Roby’s tavern on foot for Alexandria, where with others they are to embark on board a *slave-ship* in waiting to convey them to the South. Where is the O’Connell in this republic, that will plead for the emancipation of the District of Columbia?” Alas! the Washington editor, living among slave-traders, never imagined, that *such* an O’Connell would be denounced by northern gentlemen, as a “reckless incendiary,” that northern members of congress would treat his petitions with indignity, and that a northern president would pledge himself to the South, never to consent to the proposed emancipation.

Let us now take a nearer view of this traffic. The National Intelligencer of the 28th March, 1836, printed in Washington, contained the following advertisements.

“CASH FOR FIVE HUNDRED NEGROES.

“Including both sexes from ten to twenty-five years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash, than any other purchaser who is now, or may hereafter come into the MARKET.

FRANKLIN & ARNFIELD, Alexandria.”

“CASH FOR THREE HUNDRED NEGROES.

“The highest cash price will be given by the subscriber for negroes of both sexes from the ages of twelve to twenty-eight.

WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS, Washington.”

“CASH FOR FOUR HUNDRED NEGROES.

“Including both sexes from twelve to twenty-five years of age.

JAMES H. BIRCH, Washington city.”

"CASH FOR NEGROES.

"We will at all times give the highest prices in cash for likely young negroes of both sexes from ten to thirty years of age.

J. W. NEAL & Co., Washington, D. C."

Here we find three traders in the district advertising in one day for twelve hundred negroes, and a fourth offering to buy an indefinite number. Does any one inquire how these multitudes are disposed of? we ask his attention to the following notice inserted in the *National Intelligencer* of 10th February, 1836.

"ALEXANDRIA AND NEW ORLEANS PACKETS.

"Brig *Tribune*, Samuel C. Bush, master, will sail as above on the 1st January—Brig *Isaac Franklin*, William Smith, master, on the 15th January—Brig *Uncas*, Nath. Boush, master, on the 1st February. They will continue to leave this port on the 1st and 15th of each month throughout the shipping season. They are all vessels of the first class, commanded by experienced and accommodating officers. Will at all times go up the Mississippi by steam, and every exertion used to promote the interest of shippers and comfort of passengers. Shippers may prevent disappointment by having their bills of lading ready the day previous to sailing, as they will go promptly at the time. *Servants that are intended to be shipped* will at any time be received for *safe keeping* at twenty-five cents per day.

JOHN ARMFIELD, Alexandria."

This infamous advertisement of the regular sailing of three SLAVERS and the offer of the use of the factory prison, is inserted in one of the principal journals of the United States, and published under the eye of the federal government—a government professing to believe that "the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice!" From a letter of the 23d January, 1834, by the Rev. Mr. Leavitt, and published in New York, it appears that he visited the factory of Franklin & Armfield and was admitted into its spacious prison. He was informed by one of the principals "that the number of slaves carried from the District the year before (1833) was about one thousand, but it would be much greater this year; he expected *their house alone* would ship at least eleven or twelve hundred." One of the above named slavers being in port, Mr. Leavitt went on board. "Her name is the *Tribune*. The captain very obligingly took us to all parts of the vessel. The hold is appropriated to the slaves and is divided into two apartments. The after-hold will carry about eighty women, and the other about one hundred men. On either side were *two platforms* running the whole length, one raised a few inches and the other halfway up to the deck. They were about five or six feet deep. On these the slaves lie as close as they can stow away."

This vile commerce is carried on by land as well as by water. Slave coffles are formed at the prisons in the District, and thence set off on their dreary journey into the interior, literally in chains. A gentleman* thus describes a coffle he met on the road in Kentucky. "I

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* The Rev. Mr. Dickey.

discovered about forty black men all chained together in the following manner; each of them was handcuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file; a chain, perhaps forty feet long, was stretched between two ranks, to which short chains were joined, which connected with the hand-cuffs. Behind them were, I suppose, *thirty women* in double rank, *the couples tied hand to hand.*" These coffles pass the very capitol in which are assembled the legislators by whom they are authorized, and over whose heads is floating the broad banner of the republic, too justly alas! described by an English satirist as,

"The fustian flag that proudly waves,
In splendid mockery o'er a land of slaves."

But the traffic in the District, great and horrible as it is, is but a branch of this vast and accursed commerce. Let us take a look at it, beyond the ten miles square.

Mr. Niles informs us in his Baltimore Register, that "dealing in slaves has become a large business; establishments are made in several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle; these places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with *iron thumb-screws and gags*, and ornamented with cowskins and other whips, oftentimes bloody."

The advertisements of the traders in Baltimore, show that the Maryland Colonization Society, in their endeavors to suppress the slave-trade, may find a field for their labors nearer home than the coast of Africa. We give some samples.

"AUSTIN WOOLFOLK, of Baltimore, wishes to inform the slaveholders of Maryland and Virginia, that their friend still lives to give them cash, and the highest cash price for their negroes, &c."

"GENERAL SLAVE AGENCY OFFICE.—Old establishment West Fayette street. Gentlemen planters from the South, and others who wish to purchase negroes, would do well to give me a call.

LEWIS SCOTT."

"CASH FOR TWO HUNDRED NEGROES.—The highest cash prices will be paid for negroes of both sexes, by application to me, or my agent at Booth's garden.

HOPE H. SLATER."

We will next turn to the once high-minded, but now sordid and degraded Virginia, the Congo of North America. Shall we be rebuked by northern politicians and merchants for speaking thus disrespectfully of "our southern brethren?" Let them reserve their rebuke for THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH who in the Virginia Legislature of 1832, declared that his state had been converted into "*One grand menagerie, where men are reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles.*" This same gentleman thus compared the foreign with the domestic traffic. "The trader (African) receives the slave a stranger in aspect, language, and manner, from the merchant who brought him from the interior. But *here, sir, individuals whom the master has known from infancy—whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood—who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mother's arms, and sells into a strange country, among a strange people, subject to cruel taskmasters.* In my
..... it is *MUCH WORSE.*"

Mr. C. F. Mercer asserted in the Virginia Convention of 1839, "The tables of the natural growth of the slave population demonstrate, when compared with the increase of its numbers in the commonwealth for twenty years past, that an annual revenue of not less than A MILLION AND A HALF DOLLARS, is derived from the exportation of a part of this population."—*Debates*, p. 199.

Professor E. A. Andrews gives a conversation he had with a trader on board a steamboat on the Potomac in 1835. "In selling his slaves, N—— assures me that he never separates families, but that in *pur-*
chasing them, he is often compelled to do so, for that his business is to purchase, and he must take such as are in the market. 'Do you often buy the wife without the husband?' 'Yes, very often, and frequently, too, they sell me the mother while they keep the children. *I have often known them take away the infant from the mother's breast and keep it, while they sold her.* Children from one to eighteen months old, are now worth about one hundred dollars.'"^{*}

The town of Petersburg seems to enjoy a large portion of this commerce, judging from the advertisements of its merchants; for example:

"CASH FOR NEGROES.

"The subscribers are particularly anxious to make a *shipment* of negroes shortly. All persons who have slaves to part with, will do well to call as soon as possible. OVERLY & SAUNDERS."

"The subscriber being desirous of making *another shipment* by the Brig Adelaide to New Orleans, on the first of March, will give a good market price for fifty negroes from ten to thirty years old.

HENRY DAVIS."

"The subscriber wishes to purchase *one hundred slaves* of both sexes from the age of ten to thirty, for which he is disposed to give much higher prices than have heretofore been given. He will call on those living in the adjacent counties to see any *property*. ANSLEY DAVIS."

Mr. Collier of Richmond appears to be one of the most eminent and enterprising merchants engaged in this trade, of whom the Ancient Dominion can boast. We give extracts from his

"NOTICE.

"This is to inform my former acquaintances and the public generally, that I yet continue in the SLAVE-TRADE at *Richmond, Virginia*, and will, at all times, buy, and give a fair market price for *young negroes*. Persons in this state, Maryland, or North Carolina, wishing to sell lots of negroes, are particularly requested to forward their wishes to me, by mail, at this place. Persons wishing to purchase lots of negroes are requested to give me a call, as I keep constantly on hand at this place, a great many for sale, and have at this time the use of one hundred young negroes, consisting of boys, young men, and girls. I will sell at all times at a small advance on cost to *suit purchasers*. I have comfortable rooms, with a JAIL attached for the reception of negroes, and persons coming to this place to sell slaves, can be accommodated, and every attention necessary will be given, to have them

^{*} *Slavery and the domestic slave-trade in the United States*, p. 147

well attended to; and when it may be desired, the reception of the company of *gentlemen* dealing in slaves, will conveniently and attentively be received. My situation is very healthy and suitable for the business.

LEWIS A. COLLIER."

It is now time to attend to the results of this commerce. Mr. Mercer, as already stated, estimated the annual revenue to Virginia from the export of human flesh at one million and a half of dollars. But this was in 1829, before the trade had reached its present palmy state. The "Virginia Times" in 1836, in an article on the importance of increasing the banking capital of the commonwealth, estimates the number of slaves exported for sale the "last twelve months," at forty thousand; each slave averaging six hundred dollars, and yielding thus a capital of twenty-four millions of which the editor thinks at least thirteen millions might be contributed for banking purposes!

We will now follow some of these slaves beyond the borders of their native state. Nile's Register for July, 1830, mentions under the head of

"DOMESTIC SLAVE-TRADE.—The schooner Lafayette with a cargo from Norfolk for New Orleans, narrowly escaped being captured by them on the voyage. They were subdued after considerable difficulty, and twenty-five of them were bolted down to the deck until the arrival of the vessel at New Orleans."

In 1831, the Brig Comet, a slaver from Alexandria, with a cargo of one hundred and sixty slaves, was wrecked on Abaco, one of the Bahamas.

Joseph Wood of Hamburg South Carolina, a "gentleman dealing in slaves," advertises that he "has on hand a likely parcel of Virginia negroes, and receives new supplies every fifteen days."

"AUCTION SALE, By Thomas S. Gadsen.

"This day will be sold at the north of the Exchange at 11 o'clock a small gang of negroes accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions, viz., four men, seven women, seven boys, aged as follows, fourteen, nine, eight, six, five, three, and two years old, and TWO INFANTS ten and three months old.—Conditions, cash."—*Charleston Courier*, 2d Nov., 1834.

There are no data by which we can ascertain with certainty the number of slaves exported. We have seen that one trader alone in Alexandria has three slavers, and despatches one on the first and fifteenth of each month during the shipping season. How often the coffes depart from Washington we are not informed, but if we are to believe the testimony of judges, grand juries, and editors, the *chained processions* from the metropolis must be frequent. Of the great staple of Virginia, FORTY THOUSAND HEAD, it seems, were exported in one year, and the Natchez Courier supposes that ten thousand were sold in 1836, in Mississippi alone. If to the exports from Virginia we add the moderate number of ten thousand from Maryland and North Carolina, we have a sale in one year of FIFTY THOUSAND human beings, ruthlessly torn from their families and homes, and sent to toil as beasts of burden in a strange land.

And has congress the constitutional right to suppress this accursed trade? We have already referred to the article which authorizes congress "to regulate commerce among the several states;" and we will now give the opinion of a gentleman who is guiltless alike of nullification and fanaticism, who is honored by many as "the defender of the constitution," and who has been more than once nominated for the presidency by a party professing very peculiar reverence for the constitution. DANIEL WEBSTER, in a document bearing his signature, (the Boston memorial) thus expressed himself.

"Commerce in slaves since the year 1808 being as much subject to the regulation of congress as any other commerce, if it should see fit to enact that no slave should ever be sold from one state to another, it is not perceived how its constitutional right to make such provision could be questioned. It would seem to be too plain to be questioned, that congress did possess the power *before* the year 1808, to prohibit the migration or importation of slaves into its *territories* (and in fact it exercised that power) as well as into any *new* state, and that its authority after that year, might be as fully exercised to prevent the migration or importation of slaves into any one of the *old* states." This opinion uttered in 1819, has been recently reiterated.—"Senate of the United States; January 1837.

"MR. WEBSTER. He had no hesitation in giving it as his deliberate opinion that congress did, under the constitution, possess the power of legislating on the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia. With respect to the other subject in the resolutions; the power to regulate the transfer of slaves from one state to another, *there was no doubt in his mind that congress also possessed this power.* The constitution conferred on congress the power to regulate the trade between the states, and so long as the slaves remained property, they were subjects of commerce, and as such came within the views of the constitution."

A former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, gave in 1819, the following opinion. "To me the constitutional authority of congress to prohibit the migration or importation of slaves into any of the states does not appear questionable. The first article of the constitution specifies the legislative powers committed to congress. The ninth section of that article has these words—'The *migration* or *importation* of such *persons* as any of the *now-existing* states shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress: prior to the year 1808. But a tax or duty may be imposed on such importations, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.' I understand the sense and meaning of this clause to be, that the power of the congress, although competent to prohibit such migration and importation, was not to be exercised with respect to the *then-existing* states, (and them only) until the year 1808; but that congress were at liberty to make such prohibition as to any new state which might in the *meantime* be established; and further, that from and after that period, they were authorized to make such prohibition as to all the states, whether new or old. It will, I presume, be admitted, that slaves were the *persons* intended."

* Life and writings of John Jay, Vol. I, p. 452.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

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INTELLECT OF COLORED MEN.

When Raynal wondered why America had not produced any celebrated men, Jefferson replied, "when we shall have existed as a nation, as long as the Greeks before they had a Homer, the Romans a Virgil, or the French a Racine, there will be room for astonishment." And what room would there be for astonishment, if the people of Africa had not produced great men since the days when Sir John Hawkins commenced dealing in their living bodies, under authority of Queen Elizabeth? Is *Slavery* a system of education under which a nation ought to be brought up from the lowest depth of barbarism to the summit level of Christendom in less than three hundred years? Would Lord Bacon have made himself the prince of philosophers if he had been brought to the court of Elizabeth in chains from some tribe as savage as were his own ancestors at the time of the Roman conquest? If we were to find among the descendants of Africa, under all their present disadvantages, minds equal in genius and accomplishment to Bacon, Shakspeare, John Milton, or Sir Isaac Newton, or to the mightiest of the living, or even to the second rate man who have sustained the honors of a civilized ancestry, might we not well expect them, in a few hundred years, with equal advantages to eclipse the glories of the European race?

What has become of the literature of those ancient Britons who were slaves at Rome in the days of Nero? We call on the asserters of European *superiority* to bring it forward, while we cite some of the instances in which negro and mulatto men have exhibited talents which do honor not only to themselves but to human nature at large. All we claim for these cases, is, that they should stop the sentence of *inferiority* against the descendants of Africa.

We shall first quote a number of biographical notices from the very learned work of the *Abbe Grégoire on the Literature of the Negroes*.

HANNIBAL.

"The Czar Peter the first, during his travels, had an opportunity of knowing Hannibal, the African negro, who had received a good education; and who, under this monarch, became in Russia, lieutenant

general and director of artillery. He was decorated with the red riband of the order of St. Alexander Nenski. Bernardin St. Pierre and colonel La Harpe, knew his son, a mulatto, who had the reputation of talents. In 1781, he was lieutenant general in a corps of artillery. It was he, who under the orders of prince Potemkin, minister at war, commenced the establishment of a port and fortress at Cherson, near the mouth of the Dnieper."

AMO.

"Anthony William Amo, born in Guinea, was brought to Europe when very young, and the princess of Brunswick, Wolfenbuttle, took charge of his education. He embraced the Lutheran religion, pursued his studies at Halle, in Saxony, and at Wittemberg, and so distinguished himself by his good conduct and talents, that the rector and council of the university of the last mentioned town, thought themselves obliged to give a public testimony of these in a letter of felicitation.

"Amo, skilled in the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, delivered with success, private lectures on philosophy, which are highly praised in the same letter. In a syllabus, published by the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty, it is said of this learned negro, that having examined the systems of ancients and moderns, he selected and taught all that was best of them."

L'ISLET GEOFFROY.

"L'Islet Geoffroy, a mulatto, is an officer of artillery and guardian of the *Depot* of Maps and plans of the Isle of France. The twenty-third of August, 1786, he was named correspondent of the academy of sciences. He is acknowledged as such in the *Connoissance des temps* for the year 1791, published in 1789, by this learned society, to whom Lislet regularly transmitted meteorological observations and sometimes hydrographical journals.

"His map of the Isles of France and Reunion, delineated according to astronomical observations, the geometrical operations of La Caille, and particular plans was published in 1797, year 5, by order of the minister of marine. A new edition corrected from drawings transmitted by the author, was published in 1802, year 10, it is the best map of those isles that has yet appeared.

"In the almanac of the Isle of France, which I have not been able to find at Paris, Lislet has inserted several memoirs, and among others the description of Pitrebot, one of the highest mountains of the isle. This fact was communicated to me by M. Aubert du Petit Thouars, who resided ten years in the colony.

"Yet this man never visited the continent to improve his taste and acquire knowledge. He has struggled against the obstacles created by the prejudices of the country. It is reasonable to suppose that he would have performed more if brought, in his youth, to Europe, and breathing the atmosphere of the learned, he had found around him something which would have powerfully stimulated his curiosity and fructified his genius.

"Some person belonging to the expedition of Captain Baudin, informed me, that Lislet, having established a scientific society at the Isle of France, some whites refused to be members, merely because its

founder was a black. Have they not proved by their conduct that they were unworthy of this honor?"

JAMES DERHAM.

"James Derham, originally a slave at Philadelphia, was transferred by his master, to a physician, who gave him a subaltern employment, as a preparer of drugs. During the American war, he was sold by this physician to a surgeon, and by the surgeon, to Doctor Robert Dove, of New Orleans. Learned in languages, he speaks with facility, English, French and Spanish. In 1788, at the age of twenty-one years, he became the most distinguished physician at New Orleans. 'I conversed with him on medicine,' says Dr. Rush, 'and found him very learned. I thought I could give him information concerning the treatment of diseases, but I learned more from him than he could expect from me.'"

THOMAS FULLER.

"Thomas Fuller, born in Africa, and residing at the distance of four miles from Alexandria, in Virginia, not knowing how to read or write, excited surprise by the facility with which he performed the most difficult calculations. Of the different methods employed to put his talents to the proof, we select the following: One day he was asked, how many seconds of time have elapsed since the birth of an individual, who had lived seventy years, seven months and as many days? In a minute and a half he answered the question. One of the interrogators took his pen, and after a long calculation, pretended that Fuller was deceived—that the number he mentioned was too great. No, replied the negro, the error is on your side, for you have forgotten the leap years. His answer is found to be correct. We are indebted for this information to Dr. Rush, a man equally respected in Europe and America."

BANNAKER.

"Benjamin Bannaker, a negro of Maryland, established in Philadelphia, without any other encouragement than his passion for acquiring knowledge, without books, except the works of Ferguson, and the tables of Tobias Mayer, applied himself to astronomy. He published almanacs for the years 1794, and 1795, in 8vo. at Philadelphia, in which are calculated and exhibited the different aspects of the planets, a table of the motions of the sun and moon, their risings and settings, and the courses of the bodies of the planetary system."

FRANCIS WILLIAMS.

Francis Williams, the son of negro parents, was born in Jamaica about the beginning of the 18th century. By the patronage of the Duke of Montague he was sent to England and educated at the University of Cambridge, where he made respectable proficiency in mathematics. While in England he wrote a ballad commencing

"Welcome, welcome, brother debtor,"

which became so popular that certain individuals attempted, though unsuccessfully, to wrest from him the honor of its authorship.

Returning to Jamaica he opened a school in which he taught Latin and mathematics. He wrote poems in Latin, a specimen of which may be seen in the work of M. Gregoire, with a translation by Long, the historian of Jamaica. If this poem were devoid of talent it would hardly have found a place and been honored with a *translation*, in a *history* of Jamaica which betrayed no special antipathy to slavery.

GUSTAVUS VASSA.

Gustavus Vassa, or Olaudah Equiano by his African name, was born in the vale of Essaka, in Benin, about the year 1745. At the age of twelve he was torn from his native land by the robbers, and sold in Barbadoes. Thence he was carried to Virginia, where he became the *property* of an English lieutenant, in whose service he saw England and took part in several naval expeditions. After the peace he was carried back to the West Indies as a slave, where with the consent of his new master he set up as a merchant, with a capital of three pence, and after a long course of various fortune on various shores, amassed sufficient to purchase his liberty. He continued to traverse the ocean and was the subject of many remarkable escapes and adventures. He embraced Christianity and at last settled in England after a wandering and eventful life of 30 years. About 1781, he published a narrative of his life, which we are assured by the most respectable testimony was written by himself. It has been well compared in regard to its style to the admirable and well known work of *Daniel de Foe*. His multiplied adventures are narrated with such native simplicity and such appropriate circumstantiality, that they can never fail to secure readers. The book had gone through *nine* editions in England, as early as 1791. It has been repeatedly republished in America. To the last edition by Mr. Isaac Knapp, of Boston, sold at the Anti-Slavery offices, we would refer the reader for a fuller acquaintance with a man whom he cannot fail to love for the excellence of his heart, if he does not admire the brilliancy of his intellect.

IGNATIUS SANCHE.

Ignatius Sancho was born of a slave mother during the "middle passage," or voyage from Africa. Arriving at Carthage, he was baptized by a priest who gave him the name of Ignatius. At the age of two years he was carried to England by his master, and given to three young ladies residing at Greenwich, who bestowed upon him his surname in token of some fancied similitude to the squire of the famous knight of La Mancha. His life was chequered with vicissitudes very far from being favorable to the highest developement of his intellect.

He lived however to be his own master and to associate on terms of equality with characters who figured in the front rank of the literature of the age; among whom were Garrick and Sterne. His letters were published in London, in two octavo volumes. Jefferson, as required by his theory of African inferiority, criticises them harshly. Other very respectable writers have so far differed with him, as to allow them a place only second to the best specimens of epistolary composition. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting two letters from the works of Sterne, which will perhaps give the reader some clue to the merits of the controversy.

Ignatius Sancho to Mr. Sterne, 1766.

"Reverend Sir,—It would be an insult on your humanity, (or perhaps look like it,) to apologize for the liberty I am taking—I am one of those people whom the vulgar and illiberal call negroes.—The first part of my life was rather unlucky as I was placed in a family who judged ignorance the best and only security for obedience.—A little reading and writing I got by unwearied application.—The latter part of my life has been through God's blessing, truly fortunate—having spent it in the service of one of the best and greatest families in the kingdom—my chief pleasure has been books—philanthropy I adore.—How very much, good sir, am I (amongst millions) indebted to you for the character of your amiable uncle Toby!—I declare I would walk ten miles in the dog-days to shake hands with the honest corporal.—Your sermons have touched me to the heart, and I hope have amended it, which brings me to the point.—In your tenth discourse, is this very affecting passage,—'Consider how great a part of our species in all ages down to this—have been trod under the feet of cruel and capricious tyrants, who would neither hear their cries nor pity their distresses—consider slavery—what it is—how bitter a draught—and how many millions are made to drink of it'—Of all my favorite writers not one has drawn a tear in favor of my miserable black brethren—excepting yourself—and the humane author of Sir George Ellison.—I think you will forgive me; I am sure you will applaud me for beseeching you to give one half hour's attention to slavery as it is this day practised in our West Indies.—The subject handled in your striking manner would ease the yoke (perhaps) of many—but if only of one—gracious God! what a feast to a benevolent heart! and sure I am, you are an epicurean in acts of charity.—You who are universally read and as universally admired—you could not fail. Dear sir, think in me you behold the uplifted hands of thousands of my fellow Moors. Grief, you pathetically observe, is eloquent; figure to yourself their attitudes; hear their supplicating addresses! alas! you cannot refuse.—Humanity must comply—in which hope I beg permission to subscribe myself. I S."

From Mr. Sterne to Ignatius Sancho.

Corxwoud, July 27, 1766.

There is a strange coincidence Sancho, in the little events (as well

desolated by seven years of fierce and complicated civil war, in which all the bad passions of human nature had burst into the wildest madness that oppression could possibly drive to, and had been urged on in the work of destruction by the most powerful foreign influence. Worse materials for the establishment of peace, industry and good government could not well be imagined. Yet, Toussaint not only succeeded in governing the country, but he succeeded in attaching to himself all the parties and castes into which its distracted inhabitants were divided. It was this very success which doubtless stirred up against him the wrath of Napoleon, leading to the suspicion, which was contrary to fact, that it was his design to make the country independent of France.

The disgraceful expedition under Le Clerc is said to have been urged upon Bonaparte by the whites who were dissatisfied with the loss of their slaves; but these whites it would seem, were chiefly those who had fled to France. Those who remained on the island till Toussaint rose to the government were mostly satisfied with the system of *free labor*, which under his administration was more profitable than the old slavery. On this point we have the best testimony that could be wished. The historian who was employed to lull the French people, salve the wounded fame and pride of Bonaparte for the defeat of Le Clerc and Rochambeau, and drown the cries of the widows and orphans of 60,000 Frenchmen, assigns the disaffection of the whites in the colony itself, as one great reason of the failure. He says; "it would seem to have been the natural course to organize into a national guard the inhabitants who were found in the towns on the arrival of the army; but there was not a man in whom any confidence could be placed. *The majority of the inhabitants of the towns loved the government of TOUSSAINT, because he had gorged them with riches.*" Again, in excusing Rochambeau for the same failure to avail himself of the aid of the colonial whites, he says, "It may be said for him, that he could not, any more than Captain-General Le Clerc, put confidence in the *whites*, the majority of the inhabitants of the towns mourning, I repeat it, for the regime of Toussaint, which had enriched them."*

Toussaint is represented by those who knew him well and had no motive to over-rate his powers or his virtues, as a man of deep sagacity and untiring activity, veracious to a proverb; humane and affectionate; extremely temperate; and remarkably exalted above the vanity which prejudice affirms to be characteristic of his race. He slept little, ate

* See the *above* work of De Lattre, pages 84, 87.

sparingly, drank nothing but water, and habitually tired five secretaries in the transaction of his official business. In war he conquered by the foresight of his combinations and the celerity of his movements. In peace he repressed opposition by listening to complaints, and making it the interest of all parties to uphold the law. The same author, to whom we have already referred, in describing the system of Toussaint in regard to the former slaves, who were required by law to work, says "they had a fourth part of the produce, *which was too much*." So it seems he not only enriched the citizens of the towns, but the laborers.

Such was the man whom Bonaparte resolved to crush. But mark, how he trusted to lying and treachery rather than to the valor of his bravest veterans. Le Clerc invaded St. Domingo with double the number of men Toussaint had then at command.* Yet he gained nothing in the field. At last by deceitful proclamations and French gold he allayed apprehension and cut the nerves of resistance, till Toussaint, too honest to fathom the deceit of his foe, retired from public life to his plantation, upon the pledged faith of France that his peace should not be disturbed. His sword was no sooner sheathed than he found himself a prisoner on the way to France. If the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena showed how much Europe feared his power, what are we to say of the confinement and starvation of Toussaint in the castle of Joux?

HENRY BOYD.

HENRY BOYD† was born a slave in Kentucky. Of imposing stature, well-knit muscles, and the countenance of one of nature's noblemen, at the age of eighteen he had so far won the confidence of his master, that he not only consented to sell him the right and title to his freedom, but gave him his own time to earn the money. With a general pass from his master, Henry made his way to the Kanawha salt works, celebrated as the place where Senator Ewing of Ohio, chopped out his education with his axe! And there, too, with his axe, did Henry Boyd chop out his liberty. By performing double labor, he got double wages. In the day-time he swung his axe upon the wood, and for half the night he tended the boiling salt kettles, sleeping the other half by their side. After having accumulated a sufficient sum, he returned to his master and

* De Lattre himself confesses that Toussaint had never more than sixteen thousand men.

† This account is taken from the lips of a friend who resided in Cincinnati three years ago, and had good opportunity to know the facts.

paid it over for his freedom. He next applied himself to learn the trade of a carpenter and joiner. Such was his readiness to acquire the use of tools, that he soon qualified himself to receive the wages of a journeyman. In Kentucky, prejudice does not forbid master mechanics to teach colored men their trades.

He now resolved to quit the dominions of slavery and try his fortune in a free state, and accordingly directed his steps to the city of Cincinnati. The journey reduced his purse to the last *quarter of a dollar* but with his tools on his back and a set of muscles that well knew how to use them, he entered the city with a light heart. Little did he dream of the reception he was to meet. There was work enough to be done in his line, but no master-workman would employ "*a nigger*." Day after day did Henry Boyd offer his services from shop to shop, but often was he repelled, generally with insult, and once with a *kick*. At last he found the shop of an Englishman, too recently arrived to understand the grand peculiarity of American feeling. This man put a plan into his hand and asked him to make proof of his skill. "This is in the order," said Boyd, and with that he gave the instrument certain neat professional knocks with the hammer till he brought it to suit his practiced eye. "Enough," said the Englishman, "I see you can use tools. Boyd, however, proceeded to dress a board in a very able and workmanlike manner, while the journeymen from a long line of benches gathered round with looks that bespoke a deep personal interest in the matter. "You may go to work," said the master of the shop, *right glad* to employ so good a workman. The words had no sooner left his mouth, than his American journeymen, unbuttoning their aprons called, as one man, for the settlement of their wages. "What, what," said the amazed Englishman, "what does this mean?" "It means that we will not work with a *nigger*," replied the journeymen. "But he is a first-rate workman." "But we won't stay in the same shop with a *nigger*. We are not in the habit of working with *niggers*." "Then I will build a shanty outside, and he shall work in that." "No, no; we won't work for a boss who employs *niggers*. Pay us and we'll be off." The poor master of the shop turned with a despairing look to Boyd—"You see how it is, my friend, my workmen will all leave me. I am sorry for it, but I can't hire you." Even at this repulse our adventurer did not despair. There might still be mechanics in the outskirts of the city who had too few journeymen to be bound by their prejudices. His quarter of a dollar had long since disappeared, but by carrying a traveller's trunk or turning his hand

to any chance job he contrived to exist till he had made application to every carpenter and joiner in the city and its suburbs. *Not one would employ him.* By this time the iron of prejudice, more galling than any thing he had ever known of slavery, had entered his soul. He walked down on the river's bank below the city, and throwing himself upon the ground, gave way to an agony of despair. He had found himself the object of universal contempt; his plans were all frustrated, his hopes dashed, and his dear-bought freedom made of no effect! By such trials weak minds are prostrated in abject and slavish servility, stronger ones are made the enemies and depredators of society, and it is only the highest class of moral heroes that come off like gold from the furnace. Of this class, however, was Henry Boyd. Recovering from his dejection, he surveyed the brawny muscles that strung his herculean limbs. A new design rushed into his mind, and new resolution filled his heart. He sprang upon his feet and walked firmly and rapidly towards the city, doubtless with aspirations that might have fitted the words of the poet,

"Thy spirit *Independence* let me share,
Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye."

The first object which attracted his "eagle eye," on reaching the city, was one of the huge river boats laden with pig-iron, drawn up to the landing. The captain of this craft was just inquiring of the merchant who owned its contents for a hand to assist in unloading it. "I am the very fellow for you," said Boyd, stripping off his coat, rolling up his sleeves and laying hold of the work. "Yes, sure enough, that is the very fellow for you," said the merchant. The resolution and alacrity of Boyd interested him exceedingly, and during the four or five days whilst a flotilla of boats were discharging their cargoes of pig-iron with unaccustomed despatch, he became familiar with his history, with the exception of all that pertained to his trade, which Boyd thought proper to keep to himself. In consequence, our adventurer next found himself promoted to the portership of the merchant's store, a post which he filled to great satisfaction. He had a hand and a head for every thing, and an occasion was not long wanting to prove it. A joiner was engaged to erect a counter, but failing by a drunken frolic, the merchant was disappointed and vexed. Rather in passion than in earnest he turned to his faithful porter—"Here, Henry, you can do almost any thing, why can't *you* do this job?" "Perhaps I could, sir, if I had my tools and the stuff," was the reply. "Your tools!" exclaimed the merchant in surprise, for till now he knew

nothing of his trade. Boyd explained that he had learned the trade of a carpenter and joiner, and had no objection to try the job. The merchant handed him the money, and told him to make as good a counter as he could. The work was done with such promptitude, judgment and finish, that his employer broke off a contract for the erection of a large frame warehouse which he was about closing with the same mechanic who had disappointed him in the matter of the counter, and gave the job to Henry. The money was furnished and Boyd was left to procure the materials and *boss* the job at his own discretion. This he found no difficulty in doing, and what is remarkable, among the numerous journeymen whom he employed, were some of the very men who took off their aprons at his appearance in the Englishman's shop! The merchant was so much pleased with his new warehouse, that he proceeded to set up the intelligent builder in the exercise of his trade in the city. Thus Henry Boyd found himself raised at once almost beyond the reach of the prejudice which had well-nigh crushed him. He built houses and accumulated property. White journeymen and apprentices were glad to be in his employment and to *sit at his table*. He is now a wealthy mechanic, living in his own house in Cincinnati, and his enemies who have tried to supplant him have as good reason as his friends to know that he is a man of sound judgment and a most vigorous intellect.

Without having received a day's schooling in his life, Henry Boyd is well read in history, has an extensive and accurate knowledge of geography, is an excellent arithmetician, is well informed in politics having been for several years a regular subscriber to several of the best newspapers published at the west. He is truly public spirited and is remarkable for his morality, generosity and all those traits which mark a noble character.

Mechanics, who we trust compose a considerable part of our readers, will understand what power of mind it required to vault at once from the bottom to the top of their ladder. Where is the white man who can boast a more difficult performance? Where is the white man, of this or any other age or country, who has shown more decision or energy of character? And let it be observed that the narrative illustrates the vincibility as well as the strength of American prejudice against color.

Having, in this tract, drawn but slightly on the resources within our reach we hope to resume the subject on some future occasion.

(Continued from page 12.)

TESTIMONY OF THE REV. ROBERT J. BRECKENRIDGE,—Of Baltimore.

"What is slavery?" says Mr. B. "we reply, it is that condition enforced by the laws of one half the States of this confederacy, in which one portion of the community, called masters, is allowed such power over another portion, called slaves, as 1st. To deprive them of the entire earnings of their labor, except only so much as is necessary to continue labor itself, by continuing healthful existence, thus committing clear robbery.—2d. To reduce them, to the necessity of universal concubinage, by denying to them the rights of marriage; thus breaking up the dearest relations of life, and encouraging universal prostitution. 3d. To deprive them of the means and opportunities of moral and intellectual culture. 4th. To set up between parents and their children an authority higher than the impulse of nature and the laws of God, which breaks up the authority of the father over his own offspring, and at pleasure separates the mother, at a returnless distance, from her child; thus abrogating the dearest laws of nature; thus outraging all decency and justice, and degrading and oppressing thousands upon thousands of beings created like themselves, in the image of the Most High God. THIS IS SLAVERY, AS IT IS DAILY EXHIBITED IN EVERY SLAVE STATE."

TESTIMONY OF REV. JOHN WESLEY.

"They (the slaves) are reduced to a state scarce any way preferable to beasts of burden. Their sleep is very short, their labor continual and above their strength, so that death sets many of them at liberty before they have lived out half their days. They are attended by overseers, who, if they think them dilatory, or any thing not so well done as it should be, whip them unmercifully; so that you may see their bodies long after wealed and scarred from the shoulder to the waist.

"As to the punishment inflicted on them, they frequently geld them, or chop off half a foot! after they are whipped till they are raw all over, some put pepper and salt upon them; some drop melted wax upon their skin, others cut off their ears."—*Wesley's Thoughts on Slavery, page 2.*

Wesley's testimony has reference to American slavery as well as West Indian, as will be seen by the context. He had travelled much in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.—Ed.

TESTIMONY OF AMOS WEAVER, ESQ.—Of North Carolina.

"Many of them (the slaves) are under the control of cruel and relentless masters, from whom they receive much inhuman abuse."—*See Weaver's Oration delivered in Guilford Co., N. C., 1829.*

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON,—A slaveholder.

In his published correspondence he exclaims: "What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of

* Only last week Mr. Lewis Tappan received a letter from Montgomery, Alabama, signed, "Thomas Oglethorpe," containing a negro's ear cut off and sent to his head—it was sent to Mr. T. in mock compliment to his efforts in the cause of abolition.—Ed.

which is fraught with more misery, than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. . . . When the measure of their tears shall be full—when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality."

TESTIMONY OF REV. J. D. FAXTON,

A native of Virginia, once a professor in a southern college, subsequently pastor of the congregation at Hampden Sydney college, Va., and for many years a slaveholder—now of Danville, Ky.

"There is, and, while human nature remains what it is, there will be, much oppression and hard dealing towards slaves. . . . The unkind, the unfeeling, the fault-finding, the cruel, the selfish, the passionate, yea, that whole class of persons, in whom the evil passions predominate over the good, have, in their slaves, objects on which these dispositions may be daily employed. . . . Even with those that, on the whole, are kind to their slaves, things often take place, that may go to make the life of the slave miserable. . . . Such is the general feeling towards slaves, that conduct towards them will hardly be noticed, which, if done to a white man, would produce no little scandal. . . . All who are acquainted with negro slavery know, that there are many cases in which the condition of the slave is most hard, where the labor is severe and oppressive, the food and clothing both in kind and quantity not what it ought to be; where the labors and toils of life seldom meet with any approbation. . . . Where oppressions, and injuries, and wrongs, are the natural results of a system, it is not enough that we ourselves do not oppress."

TESTIMONY OF A GENTLEMAN CONNECTED WITH A SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY,

Who went to the south a few years since, violent in his opposition to abolitionists.

"The spirit of slavery is the spirit of hell. There can be no mistake in that. It is allied to that of fiends. It breathes nothing and can breathe nothing but the bitterness of the bottomless pit. It withers with its fetid breath every sentiment of generosity and benevolence, every manly sympathy and kind emotion, and generates and fosters as in a hot bed every hateful passion, with misery, suffering, wretchedness, pollution, and death, temporal and eternal. There is no crime in the calendar of iniquity that in enormity and malignity can claim kindred to slavery. I feel most deeply on this subject, for my soul is sick and my ear is pained with what I see of it every day I live—with the spirit I see it producing. It has no sympathy with the spirit of piety. It cannot have any alliance with the meek, kind, forgiving, and benevolent spirit of the gospel. . . .

"You can anticipate the evils of slavery from what I have said. Children, instead of being subjected to discipline, and taught the control of themselves and their evil passions, almost from infancy become petty tyrants, and grow up in the indulgence of tyranny, anger, hatred,

pride, haughtiness, and cruelty; and what can you expect from such men, but the character I have represented? You know it is a common truth, that the worst students at our colleges are from the South. I can readily see why it is so. *I would not treat a dog that I hated, as I see my fellow beings treated every day.* I had always supposed that the family of a Southern planter had within it all the elements of happiness, refinement, and comfort; but I was most grandly mistaken. There is much that is gaudy, and much of the externals of happiness; but it is the last place that I would go to, to be happy; with outward show and splendor, there is the coarseness and grossness of cruelty, ungovernable passions, and arbitrary power."

TESTIMONY OF REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD,

In a letter written by him in Georgia, and addressed to the slaveholders of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, in 1739.—See Benet's "Appeal to Great Britain and her colonies."

"As I lately passed through your Provinces on my way hither, I was sensibly touched with a fellow-feeling of the miseries of the poor negroes.

"Sure I am, it is sinful to use them as bad, nay worse than if they were brutes; and whatever particular exceptions there may be, (as I would charitably hope there are some) I fear the generality of you that own negroes, are liable to such a charge; for your slaves, I believe, work as hard, if not harder than the horses whereon you ride. These, after they have done their work, are fed and taken proper care of; but many negroes, when wearied with labor, in your plantations, have been obliged to grind their own corn, after they return home. Your dogs are caressed and fondled at your tables; but your slaves, who are frequently styled dogs, or beasts, have not an equal privilege. *They are scarcely permitted to pick up the crumbs which fall from their masters' table.* Not to mention what numbers have been given up to the inhuman usage of cruel task-masters, who by their unrelenting scourges, have ploughed their backs and made long furrows, and at length brought them to the grave!

"When passing along, I have viewed your plantations cleared and cultivated, many spacious houses built, and the owners of them faring sumptuously every day. My blood has frequently almost run cold within me, to consider how many of your slaves had neither convenient food to eat, nor proper raiment to put on, notwithstanding most of the comforts you enjoy are SOLELY owing to their indefatigable labors!

"The Scripture says, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.' Does God care for oxen? And will he not also care for the negroes? Undoubtedly he will. 'Go to, now, ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon.' Behold the provision of the poor negroes, who have reaped down your fields, which is by you denied them, CRIETH; and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ear of the LORD OF SABAOOTH!!!

"God is the same to-day as he was yesterday, and will continue the same for ever. He does not reject the prayer of the poor and destitute; nor disregard the cry of the meanest negro. The blood of them, spilled for these many years, in your respective provinces, will ascend up to heaven against you!"

EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION.

Extract from a speech of Rev. Dr. Philip of South Africa.

"Most of those whom I now address are acquainted with many particulars of the history of the colonization which has taken place within the last three centuries. The system has been put into operation and supported by the nations of Europe, to the manifest injury of the natives of America, Africa, and other parts of the world. After noticing some of these, the Doctor proceeded—In the beginning of the last century, the European colony in Africa was confined to within a few miles of Cape Town. From that period it has advanced, till it now includes many more square miles than are to be found in England, Scotland, and Ireland. If a traveler, who had visited that country twenty-five years ago, were to take his stand on the banks of the Koiakama river, and ask what had become of the natives whom he saw there on his former visit; if he took his stand on the banks of the Sunday river, and looked forward to a country seventy miles in breadth before him, he might ask the same question; if he were to take his stand again on the Fish river, and there extend his views to Caffraria, he might ask the same question; and were he to take his stand upon the snow mountain called Graaf Reinet, (he would have before him a country containing forty thousand square miles,)—and ask where was the immense concourse that he saw there twenty-five years ago, no man could tell him where they were."

The colonists of Liberia are taking the right course to produce the same state of things in Western Africa.

In August, 1835, the citizens of Monrovia, enacted as a law,* "that all Kroomen residing at Krootown, on that side of the Mesurado river, shall pay annually to the town of Monrovia, the sum of one dollar and fifty cents, and do any kind of fatigue duty required by the president of the town council;" and further, that all Kroomen coming there to reside, "shall report themselves within five days to the president of the town council, and receive a certificate, granting them permission to reside (not in Monrovia but even) in Krootown—for which they shall pay the sum of one dollar and fifty cents; and all neglecting to comply with this resolution shall, on conviction, pay the sum of two dollars and leave the settlement; and in case of failure to pay the fine, shall be compelled to do public labor until the fine is satisfied;" and not these only, but "that all other natives, not in the employment of the colonists of the town, shall, when called upon by proper authority, do fatigue duty of ANY NATURE, that may be assigned them."

COLONIZATION AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Some advocate colonization in the hope that it will put an end to the African slave-trade. They say it has driven the slave-trade from some hundred miles of the coast. What if it have? Are there any fewer slaves brought from Africa for that? And what assurance have we

* African Repository, for May, 1836.

that the colony itself, when grown up and independent, will not follow the example of Christian Maryland, and Christian Virginia, and the Christian capital of our own Christian land, and set up a trade in the bodies and souls of its own citizens?—or in the “menials” that it may buy of the heathen? In doing so, it would only imitate the example of the Hon. Bushrod Washington; one of the Presidents of the Colonization Society, who sold a large number of slaves into the hopeless bondage of the remote South.

THE RUM-TRADE IN LIBERIA.

What the cargoes of vessels trading to Liberia are made up of may be seen by the following advertisements, from the *Liberia Herald*.

No. 1. March 22, 1832.
 “C. M. WARING & F. TAYLOR
 Offer for sale the cargo of the Schooner
 Olive from Liverpool,
 500 Kegs of Powder,
 500 Muskets,
 150 Cutlasses,
 10 Bags Shot,
 10 Puncheons Rum,
 2 do. Brandy,
 20 Casks of Pale Ale,
 10 do. Brown Stout,” &c. &c.

No. 2. Sept. 7, 1832.
 C. M. WARING offers for sale the
 cargo of the Schooner Olive of Liver-
 pool.
 60 doz. blk. handled spear-pointed
 Knives,
 10,000 best ratchet Flints,
 354 bunches dark straw beads,
 233 pounds black pound do.
 245 do. white do.
 1,187 gallons of Rum,
 350 kegs of Powder,
 140 Muskets.

INFLUENCE OF A COLONY UPON A MISSION.

Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, in selecting a site for a mission settlement near Cape Palmas, chose to be half a mile distant from the colony, and remark, “It is true we had very serious doubts as to the expediency of taking any measures for the immediate erection of the house in the neighborhood of the colony; first, from apprehension that the colony might embarrass our future efforts for the improvement of the natives; and in the second place, we had fears, lest, in case of any contest between the colonists and the natives, the latter might be tempted to destroy it, situated as it would be out of the protection of the colony. Any apprehension, however, that might be entertained of violence to a missionary establishment from the natives, would be greatly relieved by the consideration, that they manifested a strong desire for the education of their children, and we took all the pains we could to impress the mind of the king and his people with the fact, that the mission is to be entirely distinct from the colony, and will be identified with the interests of the natives.”—MISSIONARY HERALD, June, 1834.

HOPE FOR THE OPPRESSED.

ISA. li.

1. Thou glorious Sun, of old
Crowned monarch of the sky,
And starry hosts, that hold
Your nightly watch on high,
Your courses sure
And fires shall cease—
But righteousness
Shall still endure.
2. Thus saith th' eternal God,
"Ye men that heed my law,
Heed not the tyrant's rod,
Nor close your lips in awe,—
For soon shall slide
His haughty feet—
The moth shall eat
His blooming pride."
3. Awake in majesty,
Arm that, in days of yore,
Asunder cleft the sea,
And led thy ransom'd o'er.—
Thy ransom'd now
To Zion's home
Shall singing come
With joyful brow.
4. "How could your souls forget,"
Thus saith the Holy One,
"Your Maker's hand that set
On high the stars and sun,
In order wise,
His power to show
To earth below
And boundless skies ?
5. "Why fear th' oppressor's rage,
While in my truth ye stand,
Your shield, from age to age,
The hollow of my hand ?
Help'd not in vain,
The slave doth haste
The bliss to taste
Of Freedom's reign.

6. "Th' oppressor shall give up
 His brutalizing chains,—
 Or drink himself the cup,
 Which now his bondman drains."
 Almighty Power!
 Thy mercy show,
 Avert the woe
 Of that dread hour!

THE SAVIOUR KING.

ps. lxxii.

1. He comes, the King whom earth shall bless,
 His robes without a stain;
 He comes to rule in righteousness,
 And break th' oppressor's chain.
2. He comes to dry the bitter tear,
 And save his humble poor;—
 His name the peopled world shall fear,
 While sun and moon endure.
3. He comes like soft refreshing rain
 That clothes the fields in green;
 Sweet peace and plenty in his train
 Forever shall be seen.
4. The righteous in his days shall thrive,
 Spread out from sea to sea;
 But men of wrong shall vainly strive
 From punishment to flee.
5. To him the wilderness shall bow,
 While cruel spears and swords
 Give place to pruning-hook and plough,
 With peace from savage hordes.
6. To him shall all the nations raise
 Their prayer and thankful song;
 No proud shall prosper in his days,
 No poor shall suffer wrong.

FOR THE CONCERT OF PRAYER FOR SLAVES.

1. Gather to your solemn meeting,
Ye who weep for human woe;
God is never tired of greeting
Those who seek his face below:—
Sought for humbly,
Rich his mercies ever flow.
2. Pray for those in cruel fetters,
Bound by avarice and pride.
Pray for those to whom the letters
God hath written are denied:—
Lord, in mercy,
Break the power thy word to hide.
3. Pray for sold and banished brothers,
Whom their bartered sisters mourn.
Pray for broken-hearted mothers
From their smiling infants torn;—
Griefs too heavy,
Grace not helping, to be borne.
4. Pray for hearts by bondage blighted
Till their brutal chains they love.
Pray for souls that stray benighted
Where the gospel shines above.
Oh! renew them
In thine image, heavenly Dove!
5. Pray with tears for proud oppressors,
Trampling on the truth they hate.
Pray for reprobate professors
Hastening to a darker fate.
Oh! let mercy
Check them ere it be too late.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

We wish all the admirers of slavery and "Incendiary Publication Bills," would weigh the following words of the Abbé de La Mennais :

"Since the discovery of the art of printing, it has become as impossible to arrest the diffusion of intellectual light upon the mass of mankind, as it is that of physical. The only effect of legal prohibitions is, first, to oblige writers to modify, not their foundations of thought, but their forms of expression, and they are only the better understood, because the reader pays a more earnest and wakeful attention ; and, secondly, to substitute for the public circulation of writings, a clandestine one almost always far more active. The more severe the penalties, the less rigorously, except in rare cases, can they be applied, and the greater the profits of the literary contraband. Despotism has then to struggle not only against the courage of strong convictions, but against mercantile cupidity,—both aided by the favor which always attends persecuted opinions. What, among other things, does it propose ? To accredit certain maxims useful to its own interests, and to destroy every contrary principle. Now, to forbid the discussion of any doctrine whatever, is enough to give birth in the minds of all to the just persuasion that those who would bar out the discussion, are inwardly convinced that they could not sustain an examination, and have no faith in their own truth. The very care they take that no one shall attack it, establishes against it a universal and not unfounded prejudice. The pretended *right* of a power capable of sustaining itself only by smothering human reason, becomes a revolting monstrosity. Moreover, what if the prohibition should bear upon subjects treated *already* in numerous writings,—and what subject has not been treated, and discussed on every side, within a century ? Upon subjects intimately connected with the present state of the European people, the ancient writings will be reprinted, and everybody will make the application ; the meaning will be put under a veil—a transparent one, through which it will appear clear and luminous to the attentive eye in search for it : and when it is wished to escape this restraint, to attack the fore front, and battle with tyranny hand to hand, the means will always be found to publish in one country, what cannot be published in another ; for oppression never presses equally everywhere at once. Nevertheless, this oppression, constantly augmented, will excite such hatred, that the oppressing power, for its defence, will be driven into the greatest excesses. Soon after, the ground will tremble ; a confused, hollow sound will be heard ; and then another sound, as of a stone that falls ;—this will be the stone which seals the sepulchre of the tyrant."

De la Servitude Volontaire, &c., p. 25.

DEFINITION OF SLAVERY.

In the Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine for April, 1837, is a full discussion of the Old Testament doctrine of servitude. No person, who wishes to know what ground abolitionists claim to hold, should fail to read it. The writer, in attempting to answer the question "Is slavery from above or from beneath?" in the light of the Bible, first inquires what slavery is. The following is the affirmative part of his definition:—

ENSLAVING MEN IS REDUCING THEM TO ARTICLES OF PROPERTY, making free agents goods and chattels, converting *persons* into *things*, sinking intelligence, accountability, immortality, and personal, inalienable ownership, into mere merchandize. A *slave* is one held in this condition. *Slavery* is the condition itself. *Slaveholding* is keeping men in this condition, subject to these liabilities, whether the holder *personally* regards the slave in that light or not. *Slavedealing* is trafficking in HUMAN WARE. A slave is a mere *tool* for another's use and benefit. In law "he owns nothing and can acquire nothing." *His right to himself is abrogated*—his limbs are another's property. If he say *my hands, my feet, my body, my mind, myself*, they are figures of speech. To use himself for his own good is *illegal*, a CRIME. To keep what he earns is *stealing*. To take his body into his own keeping is *insurrection*, and incurs outlawry. In a word, the *profit* of his master is made the *END* of his being, and he a mere *means* to that end, a mere means to an end of which he has no part—a mere instrument for the accomplishment of an object into which his interests do not enter, of which they constitute no portion.* Man sunk to a *thing*! the intrinsic element and constituent principle of slavery; a condition in which men are sold, bartered, leased, mortgaged, bequeathed, inherited, invoiced, shipped in cargoes, stored as goods, taken on executions, and knocked off at public outcry. Their *rights*, another's *conveniences*, their interests, serviceable articles or wares on sale, their happiness a household utensil or plaything, as best suits the humor of the hour—their deathless nature, conscience, social affections, sympathies, hopes, marketable commodities! We repeat it, *the reduction of persons to things*; not robbing a man of privileges, but of *himself*; not loading him with burdens, but turning him into a *beast of burden*; not curtailing rights, but annihilating them; not inflicting personal cruelty, but destroying per-

* Whatever system sinks man from an *END* to a *means*, or in other words, whatever transforms him from an object of instrumentality into a mere instrumentality to an object, just so far makes him a *slave*. Hence, West India apprenticeship retains in one particular the cardinal principle of slavery. The apprentice during three-fourths of his time is still forced to labor, and robbed of his earnings, just so far forth he is a mere *means*, a *slave*. True, in all other respects, slavery is abolished in the British West Indies. Its bloodiest features are blotted out—but the meanest and most despicable of all—forcing the poor to work for the rich without pay three-fourths of their time, with a legal officer to flog them if they demur at the outrage, is one of the provisions of the "Emancipation Act!" For the glories of that luminary we have a thousand times thanked God, and mourned as often that it rose behind a cloud, and still shines through an eclipse.

sonality; not restraining liberty, but leaving none for restraint; not requiring involuntary labor, but sinking the man into an *implement of labor*; not abridging his human comforts, but abrogating his *human nature*; not depriving an animal of immunities, but *despoiling a rational being of attributes*, uncreating a MAN to make room for a *thing*!

That we have truly stated the fundamental principle of American slavery is proved by the laws of slave states. Judge Stroud, in his "Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery," says, "The cardinal principle of slavery, that the slave is not to be ranked among sentient beings but among *things*,—is an article of property, a chattel personal, obtains as undoubted law in all of these states," (the slave states.) To establish this by multiplying extracts from the laws of slaveholding states is needless. Let the following suffice. The law of South Carolina thus lays down the principle, "Slaves shall be deemed, held, taken, reputed, and adjudged in law to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators, and assigns, to ALL INTENTS, CONSTRUCTIONS, AND PURPOSES WHATSOEVER." Brevard's Digest, 229. In Louisiana, "a slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he *belongs*—the master may sell him—dispose of his *person, his industry, and his labor*, he can do *nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing*, but what must belong to his master." Civil Code of Louisiana, Art. XXXV.

This is American slavery. The sacred and infinite distinction between a person and a thing, it tramples under foot,—a distinction alike the centre and circumference of God's moral government—the crowning distinction of the universe, transcending all others as the source, the test, and the measure of their value—the rational, accountable, immortal principle, embalmed by God in everlasting remembrance, consecrated to universal homage in a baptism of glory and honor, by the gift of his Son, his Spirit, his Word, his presence, providence, and power; by his guiding wisdom, his inspiring promises, his protecting shield, upholding staff, and sheltering wing; his opening heavens, and angels ministering, and chariots of fire, and songs of morning stars, and shoutings of the sons of God, and a great voice in heaven proclaiming eternal sanctions, and confirming the word with signs following.

SLAVERY UPHELD BY THE CHURCHES.

The following testimony of the Rev. James Smylie, a Presbyterian minister in the state of Mississippi, now and for some twenty years past, a *stated clerk* of a Presbytery, published in his pamphlet in defence of slavery, shows to what extent the Christians of the South make merchandise of men.

"If slavery be a sin, and if advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the divine law, and if *buying, selling, or holding a slave, FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN*, is a heinous sin and scandal, then, verily, **THREE-FOURTHS** of all the **EPISCOPALIANS, METHODISTS, BAPTISTS, and PRESBYTERIANS**, in eleven states of the Union, are of the devil. They '*hold*,' if they do not buy and sell slaves; and, with few exceptions, they hesitate not to *apprehend and restore runaway slaves when in their power*."

FOREIGN OPINIONS OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

E. S. ARDT, ESQ.

A view of the national sin of America, after admiring the natural grandeur of their country, is like discovering the object of worship in the old temples of Egypt; where, after the stranger had walked bewildered through vistas of superb architecture, he came at last to the filthy idol,—a moulthing and obscene Ape, playing its pranks on a throne of gold! And this is the thing to be worshipped in America—a mockery and disgrace of the human character “enthroned in the West”—a nation of slave-drivers masquerading it with the cap of liberty, a Christian people excelling all the heathen tribes of the world in systematic wickedness,—a free republic exercising greater oppression than was ever heard of in the old king-scourged and priest-ridden despotisms of Europe.

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

Every American who loves his country, should dedicate his whole life, and every faculty of his soul, to efface the foul blot of slavery from its character. If nations rank according to their wisdom and their virtue, what right has the American, a scourger and murderer of slaves, to compare himself with the least and lowest of the European nations, much more with this great and humane country, where the greatest lord dare not lay a finger on the meanest peasant? What is freedom where all are not free? where the greatest of God's blessings are limited, with impious caprice to the color of the body? And these are men who taunt the English with their corrupt parliament, with their buying and selling votes. Let the world judge which is the most liable to censure—we, who in the midst of rottenness, have torn the manacles off slaves all over the world; or they who, with their idle purity and useless perfection, have remained mute and careless while groans echoed and whips cracked round the very walls of their spotless congress. We wish well to America—we rejoice in her prosperity—and are delighted to resist the absurd impertinence with which the character of her people is often treated in this country. But the existence of slavery in America is an atrocious crime, with which no measures can be kept—for which her situation affords no sort of apology—which makes liberty itself disgusted, and the boast of it disgusting.—No. LXL. *Art. Travelers in America.*

DANIEL O'CONNEL, ESQ.

Well, then, even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled to taunt the Americans with gross inconsistency and lawless proceedings. He differed from Sir Robert Peel on many points. On one point, however, he fully agreed with him. Let the proud Americans learn that all parties in this country unite in condemnation of their present conduct; and let them also learn that the worst of all aristocracies is that which prevails in America—an aristocracy which had been aptly denominated *that of the human skin*. The most insufferable pride was that shown by such an aristocracy.

LONDON EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE.

The United States of America present to the world one of the most extraordinary spectacles that can be conceived of by the mind of man. They are a huge moral and political enigma. We behold part of the population priding themselves on the peculiar freedom of their institutions, and holding the other part in the shackles of slavery. They are a people who boast that they are possessed of an "admirable system of public schools, continually spreading into new states; hundreds of academies; 70 or 80 colleges; numerous theological and medical schools; 1,200 newspapers; 8,000 or 10,000 temperance societies, with a million and a half of members; 15,000 or 20,000 Sunday schools, with their libraries and a million of scholars, and taught by 120,000 of the best men and women among them; an evangelical ministry of not less than 11,000 ministers of the gospel," and, which the writer omits to add, nearly *three millions of slaves!* Alas that a figure with so goodly a bust should terminate in the slimy folds of the serpent!

It is melancholy to behold such a monstrosity; a people judging their own rights with the incontrovertible declaration, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and at the same instant depriving their fellow-men perpetually of two of these "inalienable rights," and often directly or indirectly of the third. Most heartily do we concur with our American brethren in the sentiment we here quote. We concur with them when they claim to be free from oppression, but we dissent from them when they claim also to be free to oppress. The national emblem of the American states requires alteration to make it truly emblematical of their present and past condition. The eagle, with liberty on his wings, should, to complete the resemblance, clutch in his talons the manacled and writhing form of the colored man.

Political arrangements! Is he a man, and does he call buying, selling, and lacerating his fellow-men, political arrangements? Is the flogging of women a political arrangement? Is tearing the child from the mother, and the wife from the husband, a political arrangement? Are all the murders, adulteries, obscenities, and immoralities of every kind, which follow in the train of slavery, political arrangements? We tell him that the curse of God is on such political arrangements, and if they are not altered, we tremble for America.—*February, 1836.*

JEAN PIERRE BRISSOT.

In the South, the blacks are in a state of abjection difficult to describe: many of them are naked, ill fed, lodged in miserable huts, on straw. They receive no education, no instruction in any kind of religion; they are not married but coupled; thus they are brutalized. Every thing in Maryland and Virginia wears the print of slavery; a starved soil, bad cultivation, houses falling to ruin, cattle small and few, and black walking skeletons; in a word, you see real misery, and apparent luxury, insulting each other.

"God has created men of all nations, of all languages, of all colors, equally free; Slavery, in all its forms, in all its degrees, is a violation of the Divine laws; and a degradation of human nature."

[*Travels in the United States, 1788.*]

WHAT ABOLITIONISTS BELIEVE.

We believe slavery to be a sin—always, everywhere, and only, sin—sin, in itself, apart from the occasional rigors incidental to its administration, and from all those perils, liabilities, and positive inflictions to which its victims are consequentially exposed—sin, in the nature of the act which creates it, and in the elements which constitute it—sin, because it converts persons into things, makes men property, God's image merchandise; because it forbids men to use themselves for the advancement of their own well-being, and turns them into mere instruments, to be used by others, solely for the benefit of the users; because it constitutes one man the owner of the body, soul and spirit of other men—gives him power and permission to make his own pecuniary profit the great end of their being; thus striking them out of existence as beings possessing rights and susceptibilities of happiness, and forcing them to exist merely as appendages to his own existence. In other words, because slavery holds and uses men, as mere means for the accomplishment of ends, of which ends their own interests are not a part—thus annihilating the sacred and eternal distinction between a person and a thing—a distinction proclaimed an axiom by all human consciousness—a distinction created by God, crowned with glory and honor in the attributes of intelligence, morality, accountability and immortal existence, and commended to the homage of universal mind by the concurrent testimony of nature, conscience, providence and revelation, by the blood of atonement and the sanctions of eternity. This distinction, authenticated by the seal of Deity, and its own nature effaceless and immutable, slavery contemns, disannuls, and tramples under foot. This is its fundamental element—its vital, constituent principle—that which makes it a sin in itself, under whatever modification existing. All the incidental effects of the system flow spontaneously from this fountain head. The constant exposure of slaves to outrage, and the actual inflictions which they experience in innumerable forms, all result legitimately from this principle assumed in the theory, and embodied in the practice of slaveholding. What is that but a sin, which sinks to the level of brutes, beings ranked and registered by God a little lower than the angels—wrests from their rightful owners the legacies bequeathed them—inalienable birthright endowments, exchanged for no equivalent, unsundered by volition and unforfeited by crime—breaks open the sanctuary of human rights, and makes its sacred things common plunder—driving to the shambles Jehovah's image, herded with four-footed beasts and creeping things, and bartering for vile dust the purchase of a Redeemer's blood, and the living members of his body? What is that but a sin, which derides the sanctity with which God has invested domestic relations—annihilates marriage—makes void parental authority—nullifies filial obligation—invites the violation of chastity, by denying it legal protection, thus bidding God-speed to lust as it riots at noon-day, glorying in the immunities of law? What is that but a sin, which stamps as crime obedience to the command, "Search the scriptures"—repeals the law of love—abrogates the golden rule—exact labor without recompense—authorizes the forcible sendings of kindred, and cuts off for ever from the pursuit of happiness? What is that but a sin, which embargoes the acquisition of knowledge by the terror of penalties—eclipses intellect—stifles the native instincts of the heart—precipitates in death-damps the upward aspirations of the spirit—startles its victims with present perils—peoples the future with apprehended horrors—palsies the moral sense whelms hope in despair, and kills the soul?—*Declaration of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention.*

SOUTHERN PREACHING.

[From Miss Martineau.]

"Of the Presbyterian, as well as other clergy of the south, some are even planters, superintending the toils of their slaves, and making purchases, or effecting sales in the slave-markets, during the week, and preaching on Sundays whatever they can devise that is least contradictory to their daily practice. I watched closely the preaching in the south,—that of all denominations,—to see what could be made of Christianity, 'the highest fact in the Rights of Man,' in such a region. I found the stricter religionists preaching reward and punishment in connexion with modes of belief, and hatred to the Catholics. I found the more philosophical preaching for or against materialism, and diverging to phrenology. I found the more quiet and 'gentlemanly' preaching harmless abstractions,—the four seasons, the attributes of the Deity, prosperity and adversity, &c. I heard one clergyman, who always goes out of the room when the subject of negro emancipation is mentioned, or when slavery is found fault with, preach in a southern city against following a multitude to do evil. I heard one noble religious discourse from the Rev. Joel Parker, a Presbyterian clergyman, of New Orleans; but except that one, I never heard any available reference made to the grand truths of religion, or principles of morals. The great principles which regard the three relations to God, man, and self,—striving after perfection, mutual justice and charity, and christian liberty,—were never touched upon.—Meantime, the clergy were pretending to find express sanctions of slavery in the Bible: and putting words to this purpose into the mouths of public men, who do not profess to remember the existence of the Bible in any other connexion. The clergy were boasting at public meetings, that there was not a periodical south of the Potomac which did not advocate slavery; and some were even setting up a magazine, whose "fundamental principle is, that man ought to be the property of man." The clergy who were to be sent as delegates to the General Assembly, were receiving instructions to leave the room, if the subject of slavery was mentioned; and to propose the cessation of the practice of praying for slaves. At the same time, the wife of a clergyman called upon me to admire the benevolent toils of a friend, who had been 'putting up 4000 weight of pork' for her slave household: and another lady, kindly and religiously disposed, told me what pains she took on Sunday mornings to teach her slaves, by word of mouth, as much of Christianity as was good for them. When I pressed her on the point as to why they were to have Christianity and not the alphabet, and desired to know under what authority she dared to keep them from knowledge, which God has shed abroad for all, as freely as the air and sunshine, I found that the idea was wholly new to her: nothing that she had heard in church, or out of it, from any of the Christians among whom she lived, had awakened the suspicion that she was robbing her brethren of their birth-right. The religion of the south strictly accords with the morals of the south. There is much that is gentle, merciful, and generous: much among the suffering women that is patient, heroic, and inspiring

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meek resignation. Among these victims, there is faith, hope, and charity. But Christianity is severed from its radical principles of justice and liberty; and it will have to be cast out as a rotten branch.*

SOUTHERN NOTIONS OF RIGHTS AND LIBERTY.

"One of the absolutely inevitable results of slavery is a disregard of human rights; an inability even to comprehend them. Probably the southern gentry, who declare that the presence of slavery enhances the love of freedom; that freedom can be duly estimated only where a particular class can appropriate all social privileges; that, to use the words of one of them, 'they know too much of slavery to be slaves themselves,' are sincere enough in such declarations; and and if so, it follows that they do not know what freedom is. They may have the benefit of the alternative,—of not knowing what freedom is and being sincere; or of not knowing what freedom is and not being sincere. I am disposed to think that the first is the more common case.

One reason for my thinking so is, that I usually found in conversation in the south, that the idea of human rights was—sufficient subsistence in return for labor. This was assumed as the definition of human rights on which we were to argue the case of the slave. When I tried the definition by the golden rule, I found that even that straight, simple rule had become singularly bent in the hands of those who profess to acknowledge and apply it. A clergyman preached from the pulpit the following application of it, which is echoed unhesitatingly by the most religious of the slaveholders:—"Treat your slaves as you would wish to be treated if you were a slave yourself." I verily believe that hundreds, or thousands, do not see that this is not an honest application of the rule; so blinded are they by custom to the fact that the negro is a man and a brother.

"Another of my reasons for supposing that the gentry of the south do not know what freedom is, is that many seem unconconscious of the state of coercion in which they themselves are living: coercion, not only from the incessant fear of which I have before spoken,—a fear which haunts their homes, their business, and their recreations; coercion, not only from their fear, and from their being dependent for their hourly comforts upon the extinguished or estranged will of those whom they have injured; but coercion also from their own laws. The laws against the press are as peremptory as in the most despotic countries of Europe;* as may be seen in the small number and size, and poor quality, of the newspapers of the south. I never saw, in the rawest villages of the youngest States, newspapers so empty and poor as

* "No notice is taken of any occurrence, however remarkable, in which a person of color, free or enslaved, has any share, for fear of the Acts which denounce death or imprisonment for life against those who shall write, print, publish, or distribute any thing having a tendency to excite discontent or insubordination, &c.: or which doom to heavy fines those who shall use or issue language which may disturb 'the security of masters with their slaves, or diminish that respect which is commanded to free people of colour for the whites.'"

those of New Orleans. It is curious that, while the subject of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies was necessarily a very interesting one throughout the southern States, I met with planters who did not know that any compensation had been paid by the British nation to the West Indian proprietors. The miserable quality of the southern newspapers, and the omission from them of the subjects on which the people most require information, will go far to account for the people's delusions on their own affairs, as compared with those of the rest of the world, and for their boasts of freedom, which probably arise from their knowing of none which is superior.* They see how much more free they are than their own slaves; but are not generally aware what liberty is where all are free. In 1834, the number of newspapers was, in the State of New York, 267; in Louisiana, 31; in Massachusetts, 108; in South Carolina, 19; in Pennsylvania, 220; in Georgia, 22.

"What is to be thought of the freedom of gentlemen subject to the following law? 'Any person or persons who shall attempt to teach any free person of color, or slave, to spell, read, or write, shall, upon conviction thereof by indictment, be fined in a sum not less than two hundred and fifty dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars.'

"What is to be thought of the freedom of gentleman who cannot emancipate their own slaves, except by the consent of the legislature; and then only under very strict conditions, which make the deed almost impracticable? It has been mentioned that during a temporary suspension of the laws against emancipation in Virginia, 10,000 slaves were freed in nine years; and that, as the institution seemed in peril, the masters were again coerced. It is pleaded that the masters themselves were the repealers and enactors of these laws. True: and thus it appears that they thought it necessary to deprive each other of a liberty which a great number seem to have made use of themselves while they could. No high degree of liberty, or of the love of it, is to be seen here. The laws which forbid emancipation are felt to be cruelly galling throughout the south. I heard frequent bitter complaints of them. They are the invariable plea urged by individuals to excuse their continuing to hold slaves. Such individuals are either sincere in these complaints, or they are not. If they are not, they must be under some deplorable coercion which compels so large a multitude to hypocrisy. If they are sincere, they possess the common republican means of getting tyrannical laws repealed: and why do they not use them? If these laws are felt to be oppressive, why is no voice heard denouncing them in the legislatures? If men complainingly, but voluntarily, submit to laws which bind the conscience, little can be said of their love of liberty. If they submit involuntarily, nothing can be said for their possession of it."

* A similar charge might have been brought against a large part of the northern newspapers. One fact by way of illustration. The Charleston Mercury of July 1st, says, "We find some very pleasing extracts from Miss Martineau, in our exchange papers, and begin to think that she has written almost as good a book about America as the author of Cyril Thornton, who, with all his sins, has been the most successful of the English sketchers in America." This shows how careful the Mercury's exchange papers have been to avoid such extracts as we have made,—otherwise the Mercury, being the most fawning of the pro-slavery papers, would have talked in patriarchal style.—Ed. Rev.

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We will briefly state some of the reasons why the friends of our common liberty should earnestly contend for the restoration of the trial by jury, as it has been restored in Massachusetts and New Jersey.

1. There is real danger to the liberties of our free born fellow-citizens of these free-called states. We need only mention the cases of Mary Gilmore, in Philadelphia, and William Griffin in the city of New York, within two years arrested as fugitives from service or labor, and both of whom were saved only by the most providential circumstances from being carried into hopeless slavery. Mary Gilmore, it is well known was at last proved beyond all doubt to be a child of entirely white parents and a native of a free state. Griffin who was seized by Capt. Thomas Hope, of the state of Delaware, was on the point of being given up by the Recorder of the city of New York, who was perfectly *satisfied* of the rightfulness of Capt. Hope's claim, when mere accident threw in the way of his counsel evidence which proved beyond the power of all the slavery-supporting oaths in the universe to refute, that he was a native of Salem in New Jersey, and was a citizen of New York at the time when he was sworn to have been a slave in Delaware. How many have been hurried into slavery who, had they enjoyed the right of a jury, to weigh the evidence in their favor, and compulsory process to secure the use of it, might now have been free, it is impossible to say. It is enough to know that every citizen can claim the common security as a right, and that the want of this security is not only fatal to the peace but injurious to the character and good citizenship of those from whom it is wrested. How many who are now the victims of violated law, might have been useful and patriotic citizens had their rights been properly secured? As we value the improvement, good order, and virtue of our colored fellow citizens we must strive to give them the full benefit of those legal safeguards in which we ourselves rejoice.

2. Every slave, according to our own solemn national declaration has an inalienable right to his liberty. Every master by pursuing his slave, whatever authority the constitution and laws of the land may inconsistently give him, commits an outrage upon the common rights of mankind and upon the foundation principle of the constitution and laws themselves. The most pertinacious and scrupulous sticklers for the compact and the constitutional rights of the south, cannot justify *us* in going further to support them than the legitimate construction *of the law* requires. We cannot surely be bound to encourage an

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outrage upon liberty and right any further than we have promised to do so, if so far. If then we have shown that the compact or compromise does not destroy the right of any person to a jury trial, we are bound to rescue all the slaves we fairly can, by that means. No doubt the delay and the more thorough display of slaveholding principles and measures which must be made in claiming a fugitive before a jury, will prevent many masters from prosecuting their nefarious claims. In the recent slave case in Utica, with the collusion of the Hon. Judge himself, every effort was made to have the trial pass off with as little public notice as possible. The capture would doubtless not have been undertaken with a prospect of having the whole case submitted to the verdict of an Oneida county jury. If the slaves must after all suffer much from our constitution let them have all the benefit they fairly can have from it.

3. The decision of the highest question that ever comes before our courts by a hasty, and arbitrary process, is dangerous to the liberty of all. It corrupts the courts; it corrupts the people. It sets humanity below the dogs of the street. It makes liberty, which should be above all price, viler than property. It is a fatal stab at the national sense of honor and justice. It is placing the palladium of our rights on a level with the rescripts of tyrants. The children of the north ought never to be taught the seductive and fatal lesson of slavery by seeing human beings disposed of like stray swine.

4. Our national character requires it. The name of American liberty has become attractive throughout the earth. The oppressed of all nations look to America as an asylum. But the worst portion only will be drawn to our shores by the *name*, the best will look for the *reality* of freedom. We complain of the character of the emigrants who flock to our shores. Let us establish justice according to the design of our constitution, and we may hope to gain more and suffer less, by our accessions from abroad. It is only by securing the most profound, and thorough and practical veneration for law and order, that we can hope to allure the lovers of law and order, and scare off the partizans of tyranny, riot and misrule.

Without any reference to the abolition of slavery, every patriot in America has sufficient motive in the character of his country to excite him to contend strenuously for the restoration of the trial by jury to all without distinction.

Fellow-citizens what have we been contending for? We have called it a jury trial. But it is not so much as that. We have merely

demanded that every colored man should enjoy the right to submit the question of his claim to liberty to twelve such men as are usually empanelled in our courts of justice. But what sort of men are they? Are all or any of them "peers" of the colored man? By nature they are, but not by national prejudice. They are all of a different caste, which claims superiority. The true spirit of trial by jury requires one of two things. Colored men should be called to sit on juries equally with whites, that is, the distinction of caste should be abolished, or else colored men should be tried by colored juries. English society is divided into upper and lower classes, and the very gist of the right of trial by jury is, that one of the lower class must be tried by his equals of the same class. If the colored people are an inferior class, then it follows that colored men can be tried constitutionally only by colored juries, for the parity of the tried and the triers is essential to the institution. While colored men are carefully excluded from the jury box,* is any one prepared to affirm that the sword of justice is not wielded more severely towards the accused of the same inferior and proscribed complexion. May not this, without attributing to the jury any injustice, aside from general prejudice, of which they are conscious, account in some measure for the fact that the colored class furnish more than their fair proportion to the population of our prisons—especially when taken in connection with the acknowledged fact that the colored convicts are as a class less hardened than the whites?

* We suppose it is generally no other law than the unwritten code of clanish prejudice which excludes colored men from juries. Such seems at any rate to be the case in Pennsylvania. We quote an anecdote from a Pennsylvania newspaper which shows how rarely the said unwritten code is transgressed.

"Some years since, a singular incident occurred in one of the courts of this city, [Phil.] When the sheriff was calling over the names of the jury, he summoned, among others, 'George Jones.' 'Here, sir,' answered a voice from the crowd, and a colored man came forth, and took his seat in the jury box.

"'Here is some mistake' said the sheriff.

"'No mistake at all. Here is your summons. My name has been regularly drawn, and it is on the jury list.'

"The judge interfered, 'You may retire.'

"'I'd rather not, sir. I am willing to perform my duty.'

"Here was a dilemma. There was nothing in the law to exclude a colored man from the jury box, and the court was at a loss what to do. At length the jurymen was challenged by one of the parties, and had to leave the box. This is, we believe, the only instance of such an error; though it might be supposed that it would be of frequent occurrence."—*Penn. Sentinel*.

VALUE OF TRIAL BY JURY.

[From the Speech of the Hon. Francis James in the Senate of Pennsylvania.]

It is the boast of an Englishman, it is as justly the pride and glory of a white American, that he cannot be deprived of his liberty or property by lawless violence. Nothing short of the verdict of a jury, can rightfully affect him in the uncontrolled disposition of either the one or the other. Take from him the right of trial by jury, and you dispossess him of the most valuable of his political privileges. You remove the corner stone of that superstructure which has for its material the institutions of his country, and as a consequence, involve the whole in a common ruin.

We have lately had some deplorable examples of the folly and wickedness, which must always attend a departure from this legitimate mode of determining the guilt or innocence of the accused. Mr. Chairman, I need but name the Vicksburg tragedy, to bring vividly to your recollection all the horrors of that murderous transaction. But, sir, Vicksburg stands not alone in deeds of a like description. Other places within the borders of our far famed Union are fairly entitled to dispute with the actors in that horrid affair, the honors of an unenviable immortality. These extraordinary outbreaks of popular violence, serve as terrible admonitions to us, to avoid the paths that might lead to similar outrages, and evince the powerful necessity that rests upon us to preserve unimpaired our right of trial by jury. It is, however, unnecessary for me to dwell longer on the benefits which flow to us from the possession of this inestimable privilege. It is a priceless jewel, and no encomiums of mine can tend to raise it in the estimation of the people of this commonwealth. But I cannot forego the opportunity which here offers to lay before the committee the opinion of Sir William Blackstone, of the trial by jury. After treating of the various matters connected with this mode of trial, he says, "upon these accounts the trial by jury ever has been, and I trust ever will be looked upon, as the glory of the English law. And if it has so great an advantage over others in regulating civil property, how much must that advantage be heightened when it is applied to criminal cases! But this we must refer to the ensuing book of these commentaries: only observing for the present that it is the most transcendent privilege which any subject can enjoy or wish for, that he cannot be affected either in his property, his liberty, or his person, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of his neighbors and equals. A constitution that I may venture to affirm has under Providence secured the just liberties of this nation for a long succession of ages. And therefore a celebrated French writer who concludes that because Rome, Carthage, and Sparta, have lost their liberties, that therefore those of England in time must perish, should have recollected, that Rome, Carthage, and Sparta, at the time when their liberties were lost, were strangers to the 'trial by jury.'" A privilege thus highly valued, should not be partial in its application, in a state claiming to be among the most free. It should be extended to all alike, to the poor as well as to the rich, to the weak, as well as to the powerful.

OLD FASHIONED ABOLITIONISTS.

"Those are men-stealers who abduct, keep, sell, or buy slaves."—*Grotius, A. D. 1650.*

"Slavery is unjust in its nature."—*E. Stiles, President of Yale College, 1791.*

"Slavery is, in every instance wrong, unrighteous, and oppressive, a very great and crying sin."—*Samuel Hopkins, 1776.*

"I thought it my duty to expose the monstrous impiety and cruelty not only of the slave-trade, but of slavery itself, in whatever form it is found."—*G. Sharp, Esq., 1787.*

"Slavery is incurable injustice. Why is injustice to remain for a single hour?"—*William Pitt, 1770.*

"Slavery is a dominion and system of laws the most merciless and tyrannical that were ever tolerated upon the face of the earth."—*Dr. Paley, 1780.*

"He that holds another man in bondage, subjects the whole sum of his existence to oppression, bereaves him of every hope, and is, therefore more detestable than the robber and assassin combined."—*Thomas Day, Esq., 1780.*

"Man-stealers! the worst of thieves; in comparison of whom, highway robbers and housebreakers are innocent. This equally concerns all slaveholders, of whatever rank and degree; seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers!"—*Rev. J. Wesley, 1777.*

"Slavery is made up of every crime that treachery, cruelty, and murder can invent; and men-stealers are the very worst of thieves."—*Rowland Hill, 1790.*

"Slavery is injustice which no considerations of policy can extenuate."—*Bishop Horsley, 1785.*

"The Conference acknowledge that slavery is contrary to the laws, of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society; contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion; and doing what we would not that others should do unto us; and they pass their disapprobation upon all our friends who keep slaves, and they advise their freedom."—*American Methodist Conference, 1780.*

[From the Religious Magazine.]

A SCENE AT SEA.

In June of 1826, the writer of this article took passage in a packet, from a southern city for New York. It was a lovely morning.—A fair wind swept us from the wharf. Fort after fort and island after island, were rapidly passed, as we stretched out of the beautiful harbor. There was a crowd of passengers. Gaiety and cheerfulness prevailed; for our circumstances conspired to promote it. Some of us after a long absence, were hastening towards home, "the place where all endearments meet." Others were on visits of pleasure and relaxation to the healthful scenes of a northern summer. A couple of leagues of distance were passed. But an incident affecting and painful to me, at least, occurred.

In stowing away some articles of freight, the chief mate of the ship discovered a slave who had secreted himself in the hold, in hope of

escaping from bondage. He had made necessary provision for his support during the passage, in some simple articles of food, which, with a couple of blankets, which he had provided for his bed, were drawn forth from the darkness and presented to our sight.

I looked on this scene with the deepest sympathy for the man, a slave indeed, but a man. There he stood of fine form and noble features. He appeared about thirty years of age. I gave him the appellation, man. So he was. And then he must have had the feelings of human nature. And what must have been the anxieties of his mind as he laid his plan of escape, and carried it into execution? How strong must have been his emotions, as in the darkness of midnight, he stowed himself away in the hold, and made the various arrangements necessary to escape the observation of all on board! How high must have been the exultation of hope, as he heard the fastenings of the ship cast off—as he heard the dashing of the passing waves, indicating progress to a land of freedom!—What pleasing scenes must have arisen before him, as he thought of stepping on that distant shore where he should be a slave no longer! I say he was a man, and therefore such emotions as these must have arisen in his bosom.

But suddenly the fair fabric of his hopes was dashed in pieces. The officer's eye fell upon him. His stern voice called him from his dark retreat. What a sound for his ear! What anguish for his heart! The bright visions of his fancy were suddenly overshadowed with terrible darkness. You could see the emotions of sadness and despair on his countenance, as he slowly ascended from his place of refuge and stood before us.

There were those of the passengers, who uttered the bitter curse upon him, and the still more bitter jest. I heard the rude laugh as strains of heart-cutting ridicule rang in his ears. But all this was most harshly at variance with the mournful reality of the sad scene. I could have wept over the unhappy man. I could not see such delightful hopes, as I knew must have gladdened his soul, thus cloven down without deep sympathy with him. I could not see but with strong emotion a fellow being just bursting from the bondage and oppression of thirty years, thus cruelly thrust back again into the furnace—to be for him heated seven-fold. I could not see that crushed and bleeding heart, those withered and expiring hopes, and suffer my thoughts to glance at that prospect of gloom, which had so suddenly succeeded such blessed expectation. I could not do this without heart-felt grief. I was bound with him. And I could not but see, as clear as the midnight lightning's flash is seen, the odious influence of a system which could make so sad a spectacle an occasion of curves or merriment; which could steel the heart to insensibility, when so powerful an appeal was made to its sympathies.

By the captain's order the ship was hove to, and a signal was soon flying to recall the pilot boat which had just left us. In an hour the unhappy slave was on his way back to his master. But before the flight of another hour he was in the eternal world! Rather than fall into the hands of men, he chose to "fall into the hands of the living God." He threw himself into the sea and was seen no more! SIMON,

(Continued from page 12.)

pulpit or elsewhere. If he will commit himself to a brother minister not to open his mouth for the suffering and the dumb, he shows himself unworthy of the gospel of Christ, he is treacherous to the interests of his Master and ought to be sharply rebuked. This terrible restiveness of some ministers under the reproofs of the abolitionists, shows only on what ill terms they are with their own consciences! They throw themselves upon their *rights*, but, mark, they do not throw themselves upon their *reasons*. The abolitionist gives his *reasons* why the minister should preach and pray and read notices in behalf of the anti-slavery cause—the recumbent minister gives no reason why he should not, but this; that he has a *right* to do as he pleases, and no man has a right to *compel* him to do otherwise! Now I, for one, would argue the anti-slavery claims on their own merits—I do not admit that a minister can lightly shove aside the cause of the down-trodden slave, because, forsooth, he has a right to say whether the singing school in his parish shall meet on this night, or that, or not at all.

2. It is said this is a political matter.

Well, suppose it is. When you settled it that the pulpit should have nothing to do with politics, I suppose you were aware that the righteousness of your decision depended very much upon the extent of meaning which you gave to the word *politics*. If you meant that the pulpit should not discuss the personal qualifications of candidates for office, nor the expediency of this or that bank, road, or canal, that was one thing; and if you meant that it should not dwell on the relation of man to man, so as to illustrate and enforce the second table of God's law, in all its length and breadth, that was another. Because it would be improper for the minister to discuss in his pulpit, the bargains of his grocer, or the industry of his shoemaker, it does not follow that he ought not to inculcate the virtues of honesty and industry. The politics of the ten commandments, the minister is bound to preach, nor can he suffer any politicians to scare him from these politics. If man-stealing, and marriage-breaking, and family-sundering, and heart-murdering are political subjects, then it is the minister's duty to preach politics. Christ and his apostles preached them. If they had not, their kingdom would have been not only not of this world, but not *in* it.

3. It is professed that preaching and lecturing against slavery on the Sabbath, is a profanation of that day. Abolitionists take it for granted that the slaves are *men*, and as they have the authority of the Lord of the Sabbath, that "the Sabbath was made for *men*," they of course,

(See over, 2d page.)

think it was made for the *slaves*. They ask no better justification than is furnished them by One who was Himself complained of for a similar violation of His own day. "What man shall there be among you that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the Sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it and lift it out? *How much then is a man better than a sheep?* Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days."—*Matt. xii: 11, 12*. Is it not remarkable that the ministers who so frequently urge this objection against the abolitionists, should not have been struck with their own resemblance to the ancient Pharisees?

4. It is objected to the abolition enterprise that unholy men are engaged in it. This is doubtless too true. But does it impair the *truth* of abolition principles? Does it stamp unholiness upon abolition measures? Why, we might as well deny the truth of the multiplication table because it is believed in and practised upon by unholy men. If I have right principles and a good object, can they be the less worthy because wicked men unite with me in avowing the principles and promoting the object? By agreeing and acting with them ~~wherein~~ they are right, do I become responsible for all things wherein they are wrong? Were we to be influenced by this objection, it is quite possible slavery would never be abolished, for it is quite possible that there are not in the world men enough who agree to think each other good and holy, to do it. But if a man has holiness enough to hate slavery and to love his fellow men, why should he not be encouraged to exercise it, even if he have a bad creed or none at all? And why should not the objector aid and encourage him in well-doing? Whose spirit was it to shun a good deed because a Samaritan did it?

But, I wonder why the objector has not been frightened into silence by his own objection. Surely there are plenty of unholy men engaged with him in opposing abolition. The grog-shops teem with them. Over their hellish potations, with hellish oaths, they avow the most thorough sympathy with the Doctors of Divinity who uphold slavery from the Bible. With their hands as full of missiles as their hearts are of malignity, they engage in the same work—the defence of slavery. If the objection is good for any thing, surely the objector himself has the best right to the first benefit of it.

4. It is argued that the prevalence of abolitionism will stop revivals of religion. But what sort of *religion* is it that starts back from the claims of the slave? If the claims of temperance, chastity, honesty, truth and virtue in general could be left out of the account, undoubtedly

a certain kind of religion could be revived and spread like wild-fire. The irreligious, if they were not called upon to any self-sacrifice, would accept the hopes of the gospel by acclamation. Revivals of religion flourish at the South, among men who live in the daily plunder of the poor, and we read very imposing accounts of them. Now, it is very probable, that if the preachers held up the immediate restitution of the plunder as a test of religious repentance, it might spoil all their success, but would it spoil the cause of religion? And it is very possible, too, that a great part of the religion produced in northern revivals, would vanish like mist in the morning, if it was subjected to the test of sitting down to the Lords' Supper with *colored* disciples, on equal terms. The white converts would very likely insist upon being served *first* and by themselves, as the condition of their participation in the ordinance—thus showing that their God is not He who made all men of one blood, nor their Saviour He who said ye are *one* in me, but the world's fashion. Would to God that every revival might be stopped that can be, by such a test! Such a stopping of revivals would itself be a revival of that "pure religion and undefiled" of which the apostle James gives us the characteristics.—James i, 27.

5. Abolitionism disturbs the peace of the churches. This is an argument against the churches, rather than against abolitionism.

As a minister of the gospel, jealous for the *purity* of the church, have you no fears that this *peace* of the church will be the death of the church. As a friend of the church, I must confess my fears. The *peace* which is built upon the despairing groans of the tortured bodies, and the woful darkness and desolateness of the murdered souls of my poor brethren, fills me with unspeakable horror. Any thing but such dreadful peace.

I remain your friend,
in behalf of the oppressed,
IMMEDIATISM.

COMPENSATION.

A writer in the "Alton Observer," thus disposes of the doctrine that the South ought to be *paid* for their slaves.

"This is a very curious doctrine for a smart man to advocate. Every body knows that slavery is unjust; but many think it a very profitable vice. If so, as the slaveholders have had the profit let them pay the loss; but if it be true, as some think, that it is not profitable, then emancipation is no loss, and there is nothing to pay."

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

UNI LIBERTAS, INI PATRIA.
Where Liberty dwells, there is my country.

Two other societies were also established in Philadelphia about this period, founded on the principles of the most refined humanity; one "for alleviating the miseries of public prisoners," and the other, "for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African race."—Of each of these, Dr. Franklin was president. He had as early as the year 1772, strongly expressed his abhorrence of the traffic in slaves; as appears by his letter of the 22d August, in that year, to Mr. Anthony Benezet, inserted in the first part of his *Private Correspondence*.

According to *Stuber's* account, Dr. Franklin's name, as president of the Abolition Society, was signed to the memorial presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 12th of February, 1789, praying them to exert the full extent of power vested in them by the constitution, in discouraging the traffic of the human species. This was his last public act.—*Memoirs by Wm. Temple Franklin.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birthright of all men, and influenced by the strong ties of humanity and the principles of their institution, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection—that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people—that you will promote mercy and justice toward this distressed race—and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow men.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, President.

Philadelphia, Feb. 3, 1790.

[Federal Gazette, 1790.]

SAMUEL ADAMS.

"His principles on the subject of human rights, carried him far beyond the narrow limits which many loud assertors of their own liberty have prescribed to themselves, to the recognition of this right in every human being. One day the wife of Mr. Adams returning home, informed her husband that a friend had made her a present of a female slave. Mr. Adams replied in a firm decided manner, 'She may come, but not as a slave, for a slave cannot live in my house; if she comes, she must come free.' She came, and took up her free abode with the family of this great champion of American liberty, and there she continued free, and there she died free."—*Rev. Mr. Allen, Uxbridge, Mass.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if the slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another: in which he must look up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.

What an incomprehensible machine is man! Who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full—when their tears shall have involved heaven itself in darkness—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing a light and liberality among

their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunder manifest his attention to things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of blind fatality.—*Notes on Virginia*.

I am very sensible of the honor you propose to me, of becoming a member of the society for the abolition of the slave-trade. You know that nobody wishes more ardently to see an abolition, not only of the trade but of the condition of slavery; and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object. But the influence and information of the friends to this proposition in France will be far above the need of my association.—*Letter to M. Warville, Paris, February, 1788*.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of July 31st was duly received, and was read with peculiar pleasure. The sentiments breathed through the whole, do honor to both the head and heart of the writer. Mine, on the subject of the slavery of negroes, have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people; and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort,—nay, I fear, not much serious willingness to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation.

It is an encouraging observation, that no good measure was ever proposed which, if duly pursued, failed to prevail in the end. We have proof of this in the history of the endeavors in the British Parliament to suppress that very trade which brought this evil on us. And you will be supported by the religious precept, “be not weary in well doing.” That your success may be as speedy and complete, as it will be honorable and immortal consolation to yourself, I shall as fervently and sincerely pray as I assure you of my great friendship and respect.—*Letter to Edward Cole, Esq., August 25, 1814*.

KOSCIUSKO.

General *Kosciusko*, by his will, placed in the hands of Mr. Jefferson a sum exceeding twenty thousand dollars, to be laid out in the purchase of young female slaves, who were to be educated and emancipated. The laws of Virginia prevented the will of *Kosciusko* from being carried into effect.—*Aurora*, 1820.

HORATIO GATES.

A few days ago, passed through this town, the Hon. General *Gates* and lady, on their way to take possession of their new and elegant seat on the banks of the East river. The general, previous to leaving Virginia, summoned his numerous family and slaves about him, and amidst their tears of affection and gratitude, gave them their freedom; and what is still better, made provision that their liberty should be a blessing to them.—*Baltimore paper*, Sept. 8, 1790.

ANECDOTES OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

We give some extracts from the very interesting "*Memoire*" and "*Notes*," by Isaac L'Ouverture, the son of Toussaint, attached to the work of Antoine Metral. The first shows the idea which Bonaparte had of the dignity of his prisoner, as well as the attachment which existed between Toussaint and the French officers who had served under him in St. Domingo. The reader will please to watch narrowly the conduct of these French officers and gentlemen towards a family of *full blooded negroes*. The frigate *Hero* was anchored in the roads of Brest.

"About five days after the departure of the *Nayade*, a dozen officers of gendarmerie came to look for Toussaint L'Ouverture on board the *Hero*. After bidding an eternal adieu to his wife and family, who replied by their tears, he disembarked with the officers and the faithful Plaisir, his domestic, near Landernau, where he was waited for by an adjutant commandant, two companies of cavalry and two carriages; he entered the one designed for him, in which was seated opposite to him the aforesaid adjutant commandant. Plaisir entered the other carriage. Escorted by this detachment of cavalry, Toussaint L'Ouverture started for Morlaix.

"The next day as he was passing through Guingamp, some French officers who had served under him in St. Domingo, and who were now incorporated into the 82d regiment of the line, in garrison in this city, knowing who it was that was under escort, begged the commandant of the detachment to stop the carriage. They rushed to its door and embraced their old general with the warmest affection. These officers were Majeante, Sigad, &c. &c., captains of the 82d of the line. The other officers of this corps, who were present, and among whom may be mentioned Lieutenant Deschamps, followed their example.*

"In all the large cities where Toussaint L'Ouverture stopped, he was visited by the principal authorities, even to the fortress of Joux, where he was shut up, never to come forth.

"The brig *La Nayade*, on its return from Belle-Ile-en-Mer, took on board the wife of Toussaint L'Ouverture, his two sons, Isaac and St. Jean L'Ouverture, his niece and their domestics, and brought them to the port of Bayonne. M. Reignac, principal commissary of the port, came to meet them on board the *Nayade*, and conducted them ashore in a magnificent barge covered with crimson velvet; the mayor of Bayonne, his assistants, the whole garrison of the place, having at its head General Ducos, and a large crowd of citizens, lined the banks of the Adour. The mayor offered his arm to the wife of Toussaint L'Ouverture. She, her sons, and her niece, were conducted with pomp between two hedges of troops to the former palace of the Bishop of Bayonne, where apartments had been prepared for them. The next day they received the visits of General Ducos, the Mayor of the city, and the commissary of marine. The young Esther Berthier having

* *Letters of Captain Deschamps and Plaisir.*

learned that Isaac L'Ouverture, his school-fellow,* was within the walls of Bayonne, impelled by his affection, flew immediately to the arms of his friend. The adjutant-general Dubuisson, a native of Bayonne and former aid-de-camp of Toussaint L'Ouverture, just arrived from the prisons of England, hastened to assure the wife, the sons, and the niece of Toussaint L'Ouverture, of his sympathy in their misfortunes, and how much he loved in them the endearing traits of his old general. This officer was one of the three hundred men of the regiment of Bearn, who, after Toussaint L'Ouverture had taken Marmelade in 1794, entered the service under him, on account of his magnanimity and great reputation. They were called the *Garde Bearnaise*.

* * * * * "The same may be said of another companion-in-arms of Toussaint L'Ouverture. An old warrior, General Bedos, who, in his turn at Bayonne, as inspector of the veterans, said with tears to Madame Toussaint L'Ouverture and her children, 'If my prayers were heard, nobody would be happier than you.'" pp. 316—320.

Thus does a negro youth write of his negro father. We quote below from Rainsford the English historian of Hayti, who had good reason to speak well of Toussaint, as he owed his life to the clemency of the black general-in-chief.

ARDOR TO LEARN.

"By the acquaintance of some priests who possessed little more of the character than the name, Toussaint acquired the knowledge of new sources of information, and a relish for books of a superior order than first attracted his attention; the author of whom he became the most speedily enamoured was the Abbe Raynal, on whose history and speculations in philosophy and politics he was intent for weeks together, and never quitted but with an intention to return, with renewed and additional pleasure. A French translation of Epictetus, for a time confined him to its doctrines which he often quote;¹ but he soon sought higher food for his capacious mind, and found in a portion of the ancient histories the summit of his wishes. He was there seen studiously consulting the opinion of those who teach the conduct of empires, or the management of war; yet, he neglected not those who aim to harmonize the mind, and teach man himself; the only difference in his habits inbibing these treasures created, was an external polish, which imparted an uncommon grace to his manners." p. 244.

GRATITUDE.

Toussaint did not join the insurgent slaves till he had provided for the safety of his master who had always treated him with as great kindness and consideration as is compatible with a state of slavery. Rainsford says,

"Toussaint prepared for the emigration of M. Bayou de Libertas,

* Isaac and his half-brother, Placide had been sent to Paris for their education, and were returned by the first consul with their tutor Coassino, as decoys in behalf of Le Clerc. This fact is good proof that the magnanimous Toussaint had no design to become the Bonaparte of his island.—Ed. Rec.

as if he had only removed for his pleasure to the American continent. He found means to embark produce that should form a useful provision for the future; procured his escape with his family, and contrived every plan for his convenience: nor did his care end here, for after M. Bayou's establishment in safety at Baltimore, in Maryland, he availed himself of every opportunity to supply any conceived deficiency, and, as he rose in circumstances, to render those of his *protégé* more qualified to his situation, and equal to the warm remembrance of the services he owed him, which would never expire." p. 246.

CLEMENCY.

Rainsford says of the discipline of Toussaint, "In cases of treason he was peculiarly singular in his ideas, and the following incident will afford a specimen."

"Shortly after General Maitland arrived upon the island, four Frenchmen were retaken who had deserted the black chief with aggravated treachery. Every one expected a vindictive punishment, and of course a cruel death. Leaving them, however, in suspense as to their fate, he ordered them to be produced in church on the following sabbath, and, while that part of the service was pronouncing which respects mutual forgiveness, he went with them to the front of the altar, where, impressing them with the flagitiousness of their conduct, he ordered them to be discharged without further punishment." p. 248.

OTHELLO.

Such was the name of a black man in the city of Baltimore, who, in 1788, published an *essay against the slavery of the negroes*, of which Grégoire remarks, "Few works can be compared with this of Othello's, for force of reasoning and fire of eloquence."

OTTOBAH CUGOANO.

This person was born on the coast of Fantin, Africa, and brought to the island of Grenada as a slave in his childhood. He was liberated and carried to England, by Lord Hoth. He wrote and published a valuable treatise on slavery and the slave-trade which was translated into French. In this work he seems to have taken the same view of the teachings of the scriptures in relation to slavery that is now taken by the American Anti-Slavery Society.

DISCONTINUANCE.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD will not be continued after the present number, the entire services of the editor being required in another department of labor. Subscribers to whom the whole or a part of another volume is due, will receive an equivalent in the "Human Rights," or other publications, if they prefer.

or
JL







